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Philologia Avestica II

Av. *a(i)nūia(ō).tkaēša-, a(i)nūiō.varəna-*

by ANTONIO PANAINO

The documentation available reveals a conflict in the Zoroastrian religion between the worshippers of the Daēvas, *daēuuaiiasnas*, and the followers of Ahura Mazdā, *mazdaiiasnas*. This conflict is generally regarded as dating from the Indo-Iranian era and has, in recent years, been the object of profound debate regarding both the status of the Daēvas (demons or false gods) ⁽¹⁾ and the effective existence in Iran of a divine category of Ahuras in opposition to that of the Daēvas, corresponding to the late Vedic conflict between *Asuras* and *Devas* ⁽²⁾. I shall not discuss this question here, having dealt with it at length elsewhere (forthcoming). I shall simply point out that, however one chooses to view the matter, the dichotomy between Mazdā — the Ahura *par excellence*, with his entourage of Aməša Spəntas and *yazatas* — and the Daēvas presents itself as an irreducible antagonism between the forces of good and evil, at least in the context of the Later Avesta. At the same time, however, it must always be remembered that in all probability the *daēuuaiiasnas* did not deny the worship in Ahura Mazdā but simultaneously also worshipped a whole series of divinities dethroned by the Zoroastrian 'reformation', most probably with different rituals (nocturnal worship, orgiastic rites, etc. — Kellens & Pirart 1988: 22-36). It is therefore clear that a primary target of the Avesta was constituted by those Iranian communities who, though not themselves Zoroastrian, shared a number of Zoroastrian characteristics both for historical reasons and owing to their, more or less remote, common religious inheritance. In addition to the *daēuuaiiasnas*, however, the ancient Zoroastrian literature also contains

⁽¹⁾ Evidence that the Daēvas were not merely demons is furnished also by the *Avesta*, which contains expressions such as *daēuuāitcā mañiiaiscā*, 'by the gods and by men', *daēuuā xšaēta-*, 'favoured by the gods', and *daēuuā vīspāijō*, 'all the gods' (Kellens & Pirart 1988: 30, 109). Gershevitch (1975: 80; 1986: 98-99) takes up a suggestion put forward by Nöldeke (1923: 318) and maintains that the demonization of the Daēvas is a process that took place subsequent to the era of Zarathustra. Cf. Panaino, forthcoming.

⁽²⁾ Humbach (1957; 1982; 1984) regards the opposition Ahuras — Daēvas in Iran as not original but of Indian derivation on the grounds that it is asserted in Book X of the *Rg Veda* and subsequently in the *Brāhmaṇas*. Gershevitch (1975: 79-81, fn. 4, 1986: 99) finds Humbach's views unacceptable for chronological reasons and stresses the fact that in the *Avesta* the Ahuras are men and not gods. Cf. Panaino, forthcoming.

some other 'religious subjects' designated by means of two compounds requiring careful consideration: *a(i)niia(/ō).tkaēša-*, 'devoted to another (religion)' (Bartholomae 1904: 139), and *a(i)niiō.varəna-*, 'he who has another belief' (*ibid.*: 139-40). In the context of the Later Avesta, these compounds should probably be regarded as comparatively more recent as they appear coupled together exclusively in the *Widēwdād* (*a(i)niia(/ō).tkaēša-* also in the *Nikādūm*, i.e. in the *Vaeθā Nask*):

- a) Vd. 12, 21: *āaṣ yaṣ kəmciṣ vā taoxmanəm para.iriθiieiti yaṣa ainiio.varəna ainiio.tkaēša. cuuaṣ spaṇtabe mainiīduṣ dāmanəm bəm.raēθbaieiti cuuaṣ paiti. raēθbaieiti.*

If then one of the relatives dies, as one who is of another belief (or) of another religion, how many creatures of Spənta Mainiiu does he contaminate directly and how many indirectly?

- b) Vd. 15, 2: *āaṣ mraoṣ aburō mazdā: paṇca aṣaum zaraθuštra. paoirīm aētaēṣəm šiaodnanəm yōi varəziṇti mašīāka yō narəm aṣauuanəm aniiō.varənāi vā aniiō.tkaēšai vā kasiiaṇbe saṇbāi dādāiti vīduuā auuaṣ bauua xraθβa parāiti taṇbaṣ bacā šiaodnāuuarəza aṣa bauuainiti paṣō.tanuua.*

Then Ahura Mazdā said: (there are) five (deadly sins), O pious Zaraθuštra: the first of these actions that (wicked) men commit (happens when) someone slanders (literally 'abandons to the word that brings discredit' ^(?)) a pious man to another who has a different belief or another religion consciously (and) in addition ^(*) of his own free will leads (him) astray ^(?); consequently, those responsible become *paṣō.tanu* (i.e. 'those whose bodies are lost').

(?) Wolff (1910: 408) translates the passage 'wenn einer einen aṣagläubigen Mann bei einem, (der) einen andern Glauben hat oder einer andern Lehre zugetan ist, verleumdet — wissentlich mit voller Absicht macht er sich daran — so werden dadurch die Täter verwirkten Leibes', accepting the interpretation of Geldner (1881: 193) and Bartholomae (1904: 461) of the syntagm *kasiiaṇbe saṇbāi dādāiti* as 'er setzt herab, verleumdet, Jemanden (Akk.) bei — (Dat.)' (Bth.), 'bei [...] in schlechten Ruf bringt' (Geldner 1926: 40), with *kasiiaṇbe saṇbāi* as a final dative (Reichelt 1909. 242 § 464; 1911 153). Bartholomae (*ibid.*, fn. 2) also refers, however, to the different interpretation put forward by Darmesteter (1892: 221), who translates: 'La première des ces actions est celle de l'homme qui fait passer un fidèle à une autre foi, à une autre loi, à une doctrine inférieure, et qui le fait dévier en pleine conscience et pleine intelligence [...]'. The solution put forward by Geldner and Bartholomae — despite the latter's questioning reference to Dk. 8, 44, 57, *ibid.* (cf. West 1892: 161: 'About the sin which gave an Iranian to foreigners (an-Afrinō)') — Darmesteter 1892: 221, fn. 4), imposes itself syntactically through the sequence of the *vā*. In other words, though attractive, Darmesteter's translation is unacceptable in that a sequence $\times vā \times vā \times$ (i.e. *aniiō.varənāi vā aniiō.tkaēšai vā kasiiaṇbe saṇbāi*) is unusual (cf. Klein 1985: 139-209; Kellens & Pirart 1990: 180-81). *Kasiiaṇbe saṇbāi* must therefore go with *dādāiti*, unless one wishes to insert another *vā*, but without even the backing of the manuscript tradition. The Pahlavi version of this passage is of no great help as regards the syntax (Anklesaria 1949: 308). Reichelt's version (1911: 153), 'the first of these actions men commit, if one surrenders a faithful one to the disregard of an heterodox [sic] one or [...]', is to be understood as a free translation.

(*) *auuaṣ*, translated as 'in addition' on the basis of Kellens & Pirart (1990: 204), could stand for *auuaṣa*, 'then' according to Lommel (1928: 130), which would actually reconstruct a metric passage.

(?) The problem is posed by *auuaṣ bauua xraθβa parāiti*, according to Bartholomae (1904: 152) and

Nik. 1-9, transcription according to Darmesteter (1886: 184-85); ms. B, now lost;
Nik. 1-9 = VN. 23-27; Humbach & JamaspAsa 1969: 11:

- Nik.* 1: *ādīm peresaṣ Zarathuštrō Ahurabē Mazdāo*
 2: *yēzi daēnyāo māzdaiiasnōish narem anbaṣ*
 3: *anyō-ṭkaēša nāirika paiti kbshudrāo frañbarezaiti*
 4: *ahmaṣ baca puθra zayāiti*
 5: *yēzi sbaētō anbaṣ puθra dadhāiti vā nōiṣ dadhāiti*
 6: *āaṣ paiti aokhta Aburabē Mazdāo*
 7: *yēzi daēnyāo māzdayanōish (sic) asti*
 8: *anyō-ṭkaēša nāirika pairi kbshudrāo frañbarezaiti*
 9: *ahmaṣ baca puθra zāyaiti*
 10: *nōiṣ gbn̄yāi ushtāna*

- VN. 23: *ādīm perasaṣ zaraθuštrō ahuram mazdām*
 24: *yēzi abe daeniiā māzdaiiasnōiṣ naram aṣbaṣ*
 25: *ainiiō-ṭkaēša nāiriki pairi xšudrā frañbarezaiti*
 26: *hamaṣ baca puθrō zaiiaiti*
 27: *yēzi abe narō šaētō aṣbaṣ puθra dadāiti vā nōiṣ dadāiti*
 28: *āaṣ paiti aoxta ahura mazdā*
 29: *yēzi abe daeniiā māzdaiiasnōiṣ naram asti*
 30: *ainiiō-ṭkaēša nāiriki pairi xšudrā frañbarezaiti*
 31: *hamaṣ baca puθrō zaiiaiti nōiṣ ʾniiāi uštāni*
 23: Then Zarathuštra asked Ahura Mazdā:
 24: 'If there were a man of the Mazdean religion,
 25: (and if) he deposits (his) seed in a woman of another religion,
 26: (and) a child is thus born,
 27: if that man possessed wealth, should he give it to the child or not?'
 28: Then Ahura Mazdā replied:
 29: 'If there is a man of the Mazdean religion
 30: (and if) he deposits his seed in a woman of another religion,
 31: (and) a child is thus born, its life must not be truncated' (cf. Humbach & JamaspAsa 1969: 25-28).

Nik 11-14 = VN. 32-35:

- 11: *yēzi ahmaṣ budha mair̄yēiti atba narem āstān̄ayaiti*
 12: *yatba peshō-tanvaṣ*
 13: *aētaṣ bē narem anyā ṭkaēša bavaiti*
 14: *nōiṣ tarō cinvaṣ-peretūm vidān̄ayentem azem yō Aburō Mazdāo*

Reichelt (1909 286, § 583), 'macht er sich daran'; 'with full intention he sets to work' (Reichelt 1911 153: *bača xraθuwa parāiti*, [sic]!); 'und mit eignem Vorsatz begeht' (Geldner 1926: 40). However, *para-* can readily be interpreted as 'deviate, lead astray' rather than as 'set about', in argument with Darmesteter's translation (cf. fn. 4)

'of a different law' (§ 41), in the Pahlavi version, *ƒuddīn*, 'of another (*ƒud*) faith (*dīn*)' (§§ 25, 30, 37), *az dīn ƒudā gardad*, '(he) discontinues himself from the religion' (§ 34), in the Persian text. In no case do these translations refer to the worship of the Daēvas and hence to the *daēuuaiiasnas*, which are in fact mentioned in § 109 of the *Vaeθā Nask*: *naṇm daēuuaiiasnanm*, Pahl. *mard *dēwysn*. Furthermore, MacKenzie (1971: 51) gives sub *kēš* (< O.Ir. **kaiša-*, Av. *ṭkaēša-*): 'dogma, faith (especially non-Mazdean)'. His view thus differs from that of Nyberg (1974: 118), who simply gives 'faith, religion, both of the Zoroastrians and of others' ⁽¹¹⁾. It should be noted that *any-kēš* appears to be a synonym for *ƒud-kēšān*, 'they who profess a different doctrine', which appears for example in the *Ardā Wirāz Nāmag*, 1, 11:

ud čand dādestān ud dādwarīb abāg ƒud-kēšān ud ƒud-wurrōyišnān be kard ud ēn dēn andar šēbišn ud mardōmān andar gumān būd hēnd...

And many judgements and decisions were reached with those (who profess) different doctrines and different beliefs, and this religion (was) in confusion and the people in doubt (cf. Belardi 1979: 33-38; Gignoux 1984: 146-47).

In this case, not only is *ƒud-kēšān* connected with *any-kēš* and hence with *ainiiō.ṭkaēša-*, but *ƒud-wurrōyišnān* clearly refers to *any-wurrōyišn*, or *ainiiō.varāna-*, of Vd. 12, 21.

On the basis of this evidence, I believe it may be concluded that the two Avestan compounds in question should not be regarded as referring to the *daēuuaiiasnas* but to the followers of other religious traditions with which the Mazdean clergy had come into contact. Thus, if Humbach and Jamasp Asa are right (1969: 32) to restore an original **hamō.ṭkaēša-* [on the basis of *hamō.daēnā-*, 'of the same religion' (hapax), documented, perhaps not fortuitously, precisely in the *Widēwdād*, 4, 44 (Bartholomae 1904: 1804)] in VN. 41 with respect to the coupling *ṭkaēša vā ainiia.ṭkaēša vā* (sic), the opposition with *ainiia.ṭkaēša* is better supported at both the linguistic and the historical levels.

This investigation enables us to provide a sharper definition of the semantic area of the Pahl. *kēš* bearing out the solution offered by MacKenzie. For the latter, while this term is also used to indicate the Mazdean doctrine, it is primarily concerned with the other religions. In the Old Avestan *ṭkaēša-*, m., 'decision, choice of doctrine' (Kellens & Pirart 1990: 251; Y. 49, 2 [here perhaps as *nomen agentis* together with *drōguuā*, 'trughafter Glaubenslehrer' — Humbach 1959, I: 142; II: 80; Y. 49, 3, but see Kellens & Pirart 1988: 171]) refers particularly to the teachings of the followers of the Daēvas (Bartholomae 1904: 812-13, 813-14) and is regarded by Narten (1975: 88-89) as the negative equivalent of *ciš*, whereas Humbach (*ibid.*), Kellens and Pirart regard it as the negative equivalent of *varāna-/varana*, 'choice' (1990: 251, 298;

⁽¹¹⁾ On *Kēšdar*, 'non-Mazdean', cf. MacKenzie 1971: 51 and, especially, de Menasce 1985: 132; 1973: *passim*.

cf. Y. 49, 3: *aṭcā abmāi varənāi mazdā nidātam / ašom sūidiiāi tkaēšāi rāšaiieṭj bē druxš*: 'then, O Mazdā, harmony is imposed to this choice [of ours] so as to dispense opulence, and falsehood to the [wicked] decision so as to bring waste' [see now Humbach 1991, I: 180]). In Later Avestan teaching, *tkaēša-* appears to assume a variety of meanings, either by itself — both as an Ahuric word (cf. *āhūirīm tkaēšom*, Y. 71, 12) and as a technical term ('dogma'; cf. *pañca tkaēša*, Y. 19, 14) — or as the second element of a compound: *a(i)niia(ō).tkaēša-*, *arš.tkaēša-*, 'of the correct doctrine', *ašauua.tkaēša-*, 'he who follows the doctrine of the righteous', *ašō.tkaēša-*, 'he who follows the doctrine of Aša-', *paotriiō.tkaēša-* 'doctor of the earliest times' (Bartholomae 1904: 877; Duchesne-Guillemin 1936: 143, § 177c; cf. Pahl. *pōryōtkēš*, MacKenzie 1971: 69), and above all *ahura-(ō)tkaēša-*, 'he who follows the doctrine of Ahura'. In the phase of transition between the Gāthic religion and the different orientation present in the Later Avestan teaching, where worship of the *yazatas* is also permitted, the term *tkaēša-*, which is negatively connotated in the *Gāthās*, by no means assumes solely negative values. On the contrary, the absence of such a compound as **daēuua.tkaēša-* appears rather interesting, even if its function may have been performed by means of the Av. *daēuuaiiasna-*. Through the recent formation of the compounds *a(i)niia(ō).tkaēša-*, *a(i)niio.varəna-*, the Gāthic antagonism between *tkaēša-* and *varəna-*, is overcome and both forms refer to the followers of 'other' faiths. A **hamō.tkaēša-* has thus been reconstructed on the basis, probably, of *hamō.daēnā-*, but not an *a(i)niia(ō).daēna-*, in that the polysemy of the L.Av. *tkaēša-* and the negative value attested in Gāthic contrast with that of the Av. *daēnā-* which, in addition to the homonymous divinity and the spiritual Ego, served from the Later Avesta on (Lankarany 1985: 149-58) exclusively as a designation for the Mazdean religion ⁽¹²⁾ (*daēnā- māzdaiiasni-*; Pahl. *dēn māzdēsni*).

On the basis of the O.Av. *tkaēša-* (daēvic) in opposition to *varəna-*, and of the L.Av. *tkaēša-* (ahuric; or with a negative sense but referring to other faiths), the semantic area of the Pahl. *kēš* ⁽¹³⁾ has, while also covering the Mazdean sense (i.e. of markedly more recent Avestan origin), reworked and toned down the 'negative' sense present both in the *Gāthās* and, sporadically, in the *Widēwdād* (albeit not strictly referring to the daēvic cults), where *varəna-* is also involved in the compound forms with *a(i)niia(ō)*^o. It is by no means improbable that an influence connected with the Gāthic sense could persist in the semantic area of the Av. *tkaēša-*. Even the *Vaethā Nask*,

⁽¹²⁾ *aya.daēnā-*, 'he whose *daēnā* is wicked', and *dač.daēnā-*, 'with a bad *daēnā*', do not refer to *daēnā* as a 'Glaubenssystem' (cf. Lankarany 1985: 120, 122-23).

⁽¹³⁾ MacKenzie (1988: 91-92) observes that an interesting archaism is found in Choresmian *čkyš*, 'lie', corresponding to Av. *tkaēša-*, meaning in the *Gāthās* 'false doctrine'. He writes: 'In the later Avesta it could be used of any teaching. This ambiguity is reflected in Man.MP. *kyš*, "false teaching", Sgd. *qyšyk*, "false teacher", but modern Pers. *kēš*, "faith, religion", Khot. *ksī'a-*, "teacher". On the etymological problems posed by Chor. *čkyš*, whether derived directly from *tkaēša-* or from **duš-kaiša-*, cf. MacKenzie (*ibid.*).

which certainly cannot be regarded as ancient, includes the syntagm *ainiiatkaēša narō d(a)ruuatō* (§§ 78, 82), which probably reflects the Gāthic *kaēšō drəguuā* (Y. 49, 2), albeit in a totally different context and with a totally different historical reference.

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The Archaeological Context of Stoneware Firing at Mohenjo-Daro

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1. *Loosing Innocence at Mohenjo-Daro*

The history of the German-Italian Project at Mohenjo-Daro (Jansen & Urban 1984; 1987; Leonardi 1989) is also the story of a continuous and deep transformation of ideas, models and operational procedures. The beginning of our work on the surface of the site coincided with the diffusion of the archaeological debate on sites' formation processes (Schiffer 1972; 1976; Gifford 1982; Wood & Lee Johnson 1982; Miller Rosen 1986; and many others). We soon realized that the complex and variegated surface record of the craft activity areas of Mohenjo-Daro (Bondioli et al. 1984) was definitely more complex than the wide, wind-deflated surfaces of the large industrial centers of the East Iranian cities (Salvatori & Vidale 1982; Tosi 1986; 1989). An intensive survey of one of the most complex activity areas, the so-called Moneer SE Area, revealed that the spreads of craft indicators of quite different industries on the fragile slopes of this part of the city were the product of a wide range of cultural and natural agents, ranging from various forms of social management of trash in the frame of the evolving urban context to different forms of surface erosion affected by salt, rain, and mudflow displacement. For each of these agents it was necessary to develop a specific conceptual and analytical framework (Vidale 1984; 1990; Pracchia et al. 1985; Balista & Leonardi 1984; Bondioli & Vidale 1986; Vidale & Balista 1989; Leonardi 1989).

Among the various types of surface assemblages indicating craft activities, heaps of overfired ceramics and kiln residues represented one of the most important categories (Bondioli et al. 1984). This evidence was selected as the subject of a specific program of surface investigation, carried out by one of the authors (S.P.) between 1983-84 (Pracchia et al. 1985; Pracchia 1987; Pracchia & Vidale 1990). Given the ban to excavations at Mohenjo-Daro, this preliminary survey was limited to surface cleaning, micro-stratigraphical recording and archaeometrical sampling. Nonetheless, we could gather substantial information on some technical features of vitrified residues and infrastructural remains, as well as to formalize some simple, preliminary work hypothesis on the formation processes of the surface record. S. Pracchia also tried to develop

some basic 'rules' explaining the correlation of the surface and sub-surface archaeological records (1987).

In 1988-89 one of the authors (M.V.) carried out an intensive program of archaeological and archaeometric studies of the 'stoneware' industries of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa. Partial reports on the identification of this peculiar Harappan pyrotechnological industry were presented in various works (Halim & Vidale 1984; Pracchia et al. 1985; Vidale 1987; 1990; Vidale & Blackman 1989).

'Stoneware' bangles, already noticed in the reports of the early excavators (Marshall 1931: 530, 686; Mackay 1938: 536) seem to have been a luxury ornament, perhaps connected with the urban elites. Highly refined clays were used exclusively for the production of these objects, formed by trimming and fired inside specialized closed containers, apparently under the control of supervisors, which applied their seal onto the closed saggars. The production of 'stoneware' bangles at Mohenjo-Daro was performed within a rather large compound, probably endowed with a central raised courtyard for the kilns, and a series of rooms one of which was evidently used as a store-room. The surface clearing of this context could provide invaluable information on the type of kilns, tools and residues accompanying the manufacture of 'stoneware' bangles, the stratigraphical position of the workshop in the Moneer sequence, and the overall nature of this episode of industrial occupation.

2. *Clearing the Surface of the Stoneware Kilns*

In February-March 1986 we decided to carry out a limited surface operation over the main concentrations of vitrified kiln refuse in Moneer SE Area (Figs. 1-4). The aims of this test were the following:

- a) to define, through a careful recording of the artifacts included in the various surface formations, the relative chronology of the two main phases of industrial occupation of the site, namely semiprecious stones bead making and stoneware bangles firing;
- b) to observe the dynamics of formation of the surface spreads of archaeological craft indicators and their relationships with the buried installations and deposits undergoing erosion;
- c) to gain information on the *archaeological context* of the heaps of vitrified slag material and the probable presence of firing installations *in situ*, with particular reference to their relationships with the architectural features exposed by erosion along the slopes of the site;
- d) to get evidence on the technological nature and the lay-out of the pyro-technological installations involved in the firing of the stoneware bangles.

This surface operation was the last, in order of time, of a series of surface trenches carried out in Moneer SE Area with the purpose of resolving the cumulative palimpsest of overlapping 'activity areas' of the surface into a space-time framework of individual archaeological units (Vidale 1990).



Fig. 1 - Mohenjo-Daro, Moneer SE Area. The slopes of the stoneware workshop site from east (Dep. CS. 16048/32).



Fig. 2 - Mohenjo-Daro, Moneer SE Area. View from south of the plateau area where the kilns were constructed and destroyed. Note the large erosion basin (Dep. CS. 16048/25).



Fig. 3 - Mohenjo-Daro, Moneer SE Area. Detail of a large vitrified kiln fragment with a cluster of broken overfired terracotta rings on surface (Dep. CS. 16048/10).



Fig. 4 - Mohenjo-Daro, Moneer SE Area. Kiln residues on surface. The trowel points towards a large fragment of a stoneware firing sagger (Halim & Vidale 1984) (Dep. CS. 16048/25).

For what point a) is concerned, the careful excavation of the main clusters of lithic debitage and the sieving of all the removed material clearly showed that bead makers discarded their debitage over the Moneer slopes after the abandonment and, probably, the partial erosion of the stoneware bangles manufacturing compound (Vidale 1990). We are now concerned with the discussion and the evaluation of points b), c) and d).

The impossibility of effecting more traditional excavation procedures at Mohenjo-Daro compelled us to optimize the potentialities of small-scale, shallow trenches, usually no more than 30 cm deep, as a primary source of archaeological evidence (Vidale 1990; Leonardi 1989). Our 'stripping' sub-surface tests (Figs. 5-7) had to be carefully monitored at answering very specific questions. Our experience shows that, by exploiting the ubiquitous action of erosion in critical, diagnostic points, it is often possible to interpret the context of deposition of the surface clusters to a fair degree of detail (Vidale 1990). On the other hand, kilns at Mohenjo-Daro are buried infrastructures, and, unless totally crumbled, washed or deflated, cannot be properly studied without actually removing part of their inner filling. This is why our work provided useful evidence for points b) and c), while the evidence on the technological features of the stoneware firing kiln(s) is, unfortunately, still poor and conjectural.

The surface trench was opened on the uppermost section of the central promontory of Moneer SE Area, corresponding to an area enclosed by the rectangle 2847:2852 and 1245:1249:20 of the general RWTH grid system (Fig. 5). This area was selected because it included a small secondary relief from which part of the vitrified kiln refuse appeared to originate; it also included, at south, a strong concentration of elongated, warped drops of vitrified clay (Fig. 8) which could suggest the presence of a pyrotechnological feature in primary context of deposition (Bondioli et al. 1984). The removed deposits were sieved with 1 mm mesh size, and all the artefactual classes were recorded by weight and number.

3. *Stratigraphic and Structural Evidence*

The operation is documented by a general plan (Figs. 12, 13), by a lower plan of the stratigraphic units unearthed in a small trench aimed at identifying the floor of the kiln (Fig. 14), and by the two cross-sections A-E and F-I (Figs. 15, 16).

3.1. Section A-E (Fig. 15)

The section crosses in north-south direction the northern part of the exposed area, connecting the surface cluster of vitrified drops with what we believe are the remains of a kiln eroded *in situ*. Proceeding from south to north, and from the most ancient onward, the stratigraphic units (hereafter US) we encountered may be so described: Tract A-B: (Fig. 15, left)



Fig. 8 - Elongated vitrified clay drops, perhaps fallen from the vault of a firing infrastructure, recovered from US 4 (see Pracchia et al. 1985) (Dep. CS. 16050/23).



Fig. 9 - Vitrified clay element, produced by the melting of the inner surface of the cylindrical holes of perforated floor of Kiln A (cf. Fig. 31.1-2). This piece was found in US.



Fig. 10 - Broken piles of terracotta rings, superimposed each on the other (lower right corner) and fragments of the thick perforated floor of the stoneware firing kiln (Kiln A) (see Fig. 33). The perforated floor was constructed with a thick layer of chaff tempered clay, with regular cylindrical holes. The floor's pieces still retain some overfired terracotta rings stuck on the surface. The bed of rings was used to support the outer saggars used to fire stoneware bangles (Halim & Vidale 1984) (Dep. CS. 16047/9a).



Fig. 11. - A conical 'pendant' found close to Kiln A (Fig. 34.2). The object seems to be made of a black fine-grained stone, labelled in Marshall's report as hornblende-amphibolite (1931: 526, pl. CXLVII.30, 34-36). The object, at the moment of the rescue, was still surrounded by a very fragile, completely oxidized ring in copper-bronze. The advanced decay of the copper-bronze ring made its interpretation very difficult. It was anyhow evident that the ring was made with a double metal sheet, the upper of which was folded and rolled up to form an outer hollow ring. This complex metal revetment was fixed in the groove around the cone. For technical details see Fig. 34.2.

US 18: Fired bricks wall, built with a single course of bricks widthwise flanked. The size of the bricks varies from 27×12 to 28×14 cm. The wall is the only architectural element in the explored area to be oriented north-south (perhaps together with the poorly preserved wall remain labelled US 3 — see Fig. 12). Prior to the surface cleaning it was totally invisible. According to our interpretation, US 18 and 3 could be the earliest units of the sequence (preliminarily labelled as Phase 1).

US 19: Fired bricks wall, built with two courses of bricks lengthwise flanked, whose size could not be recorded. The wall forms a corner with the contemporary



Fig. 12 - Mohenjo-Daro, Moner SE Area. General Plan of the area cleared on surface. For detailed description and discussion see text.

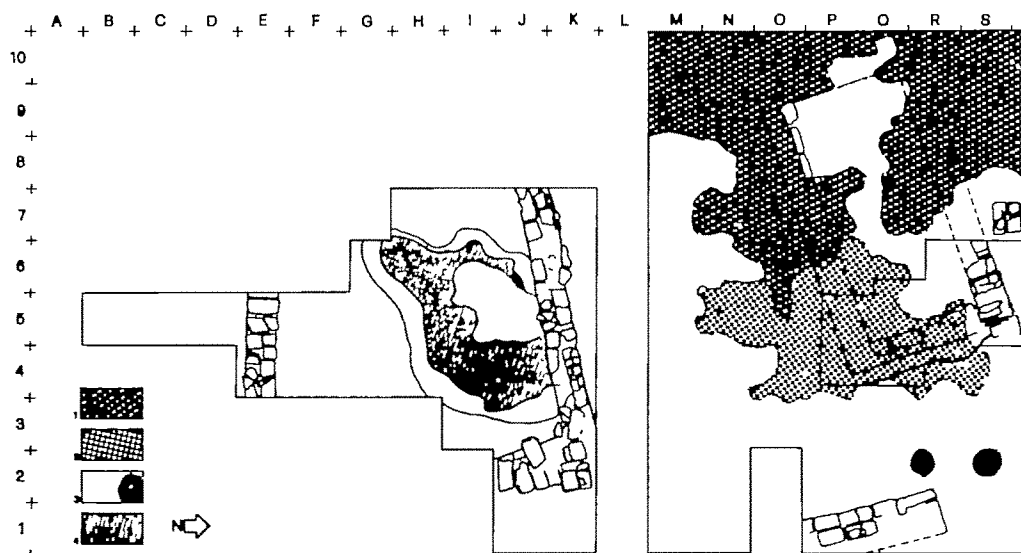


Fig. 13 - A simplified interpretation of the main features in the plan of Fig. 12. 1: horse-shoe shaped layer of fired bricks, unbroken or broken in large pieces, probably marking the setting of the collapsed walls of Kiln A. 2: main cluster of slag blocks and other overfired residues produced by the abandonment and destruction of Kiln A. 3: post holes (US 8 and 10). 4: residues of the supposed floor of Kiln B, marked by a thick cluster of vitrified clay drops and warped terracotta bangles. The map enhances the conjectural reconstruction of the rectangular outline of Kiln A.

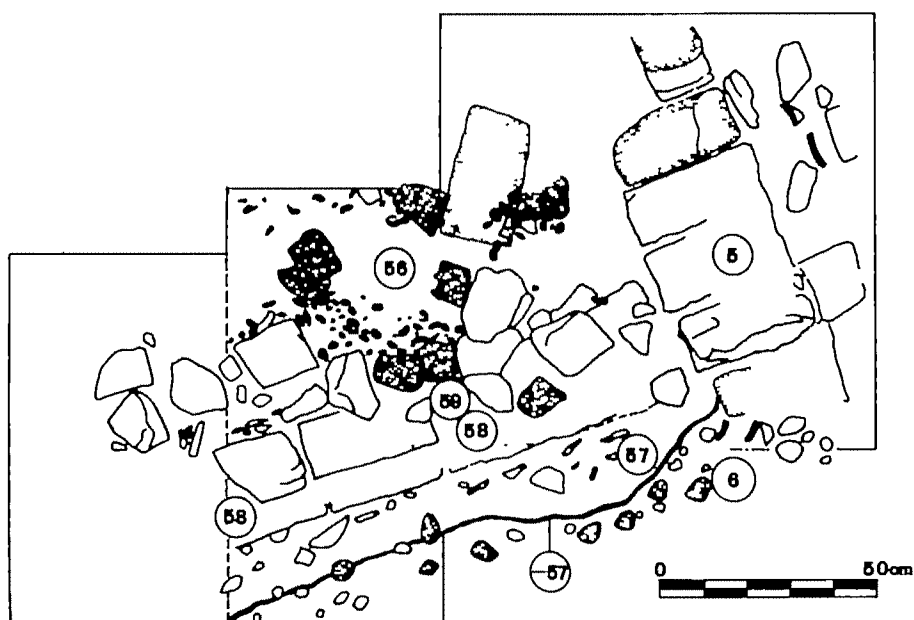


Fig. 14 - Plan of the limited sounding down to the floor of Kiln A, showing remains of the kiln's walls and part of the foundation trench. For details see text.

wall labelled US 21 (cf. Fig. 12). In our interpretation, US 19, 21, 11 and the upper structural deposits US 6, 7, 9 might be the remains of a second architectural complex (Phase 2), characterized by a distinctive north-northwest south-southeast orientation, following a previous Phase 1 with a north-south orientation (see US 18 and 3).

US 17: Layer formed by the (primary?) collapse of US 18. This is the only possible episode of primary collapse observed in the surface operation. The matrix is formed by loose fine silt deeply affected in the topmost part by surface weathering; the skeleton is composed by large fragments or unbroken baked bricks and small brick flakes, without intermediate dimensional classes. Charcoal or other anthropic inclusions are present but rare.

US 31: Deposit with a silty matrix produced by decayed bricks, strongly affected by saline weathering, with evident salt crystals. The skeleton is composed by small bits of charcoal and fired brick particles, together with large pieces of vitrified linings, overfired bangles and slag with chaotic orientation. This US may be interpreted as the residual evidence of a structural filling embedding large amounts of kiln refuse.

US 15: The vitrified kiln refuse characterizing the skeleton of US 31 becomes the prevailing component of US 15. US 31 progressively transforms into a chaotic layer of vitrified linings (sometimes in vertical or oblique position), overfired bricks, overfired chaff-tempered clay pieces clearly indicating the destruction of a kiln and the re-cycling of the waste for a massive structural filling. This is suggested by the mass of vitrified remains set against the surviving top of US 19 and covered in turn by US 32. US 15 was found to surround, at north and west, the lobed concentric structure formed by US 32, 4, 16.

US 32: Loose layer with a silty-sandy matrix, embedding particles of fired bricks in various stages of decay, rare charcoal bits, limited concentrations of ash, and, above all, a significant amount of chaff-tempered material with evidence of firing. All these components are represented by particles with sharp edges, whose diameters range from 0.5 to 2 cm. This US showed no evidence of hydraulic sorting, and it appeared totally free from vitrified particles. We believe that this deposit is what remains of a structural, slightly concave floor connected with the pyro-technological processes generating the upper US 4. It is remarkable that the chaff-tempered material noticed in US 15 seems very similar to the prevailing component of US 32.

US 4: Layer composed of pure ash, free from other additions. Its skeleton is formed by small particles of compact ash, brick particles 3-4 mm large, and a bed formed exclusively by elongated drops of vitrified clay chaotically deposited. In some cases, the drops were still hooked together, indicating that they still laid in the primary position they assumed in falling.

US 16: Central reddened area of US 4. It may be described as layer of reddish chaff-tempered particles with diameters of 1-4 cm, vitrified drops, small fragments of vitrified linings, chaotically arranged and, apparently, structurally packed. Differently from US 4, US 16 contains thin horizons of vitrified droplets subsequently covered

by deposits of chaff-tempered looser material. In some cases it was possible to ascertain that the over-heated falling drops had slightly hardened by firing the underlying floor of chaff-tempered clay. US 32, 4 and 16 form in our view a whole, and we have unequivocal evidence of their purposeful setting and primary context of deposition. US 34A: Deposit filling the concave surface of US 4. It has a silty-sandy matrix produced by decayed mud brick deposits: its skeleton is formed exclusively by relatively large fragments of overfired terracotta bangles.

US 34: Upper episode of 34A formed by undulating micro-layers of red silt produced by decayed fired bricks and re-deposited by water.

US 30: Silty deposit produced by decayed fired bricks, strongly affected by saline weathering, embedding vitrified drops and other remains captured uphill from US 4 and 16.

US 40: Contemporary surface layer reproduced by saline weathering (Balista & Leonardi 1987).

Tract C-E: (Fig. 15, right)

US 3: Residual wall close to the fired brick wall US 5. The section of US 3 indicates fired bricks were used as a sub-structure over which was raised a mud-brick wall, a widespread building technique in contemporary Sindh. The dimensions of the fired bricks we could ascertain are 28 × 13 cm. This wall fragment, perhaps oriented north-south, might be contemporaneous to US 18, and represent a very early moment of the sequence of occupation (see US 18).

US 56: Probably connected with US 3 and US 5, this US is the floor of an architectural feature which, according to every evidence, must be interpreted as the kiln where stoneware bangles were fired (Kiln A). This basal surface is formed by a thick, compact and hard deposit of dark sandy silt embedding loose particles of fired clay. The skeleton of the layer is formed exclusively by crumbled bits of chaff-tempered clay. US 56 appeared to be consistently associated to the deposition of vitrified drops; more drops were observed removing the upper surface of the kiln's floor. The two wall fragments US 56 and 5 represent residues of the kiln's structure (cf. the plan of the lower excavated levels).

US 57A: First layer filling the kiln's chamber, composed of a limited fall of homogeneous light sandy silt, carrying with it some charcoal particles, few vitrified drops, some slag, fragments of bangles, fragments of mud-bricks. The interface between 57A and the upper layer US 53 is formed by a fall of slag fragments and vitrified drops. This US may be considered as the output of the collapse of the surrounding mud-brick architecture affecting parts of the kiln's walls still standing *in situ*.

US 53: Second layer filling the chamber of Kiln A, again formed by a homogeneous deposit of light sandy silt, with large and medium pieces of mud-bricks.

US 52: Third episode of filling, with a composition similar to US 57A and 53. Its upper limit is marked by a collapse of fired bricks and mud-bricks fragments.

US 51: Hydraulic deposit of micro-laminated silt, free from any anthropic inclusion; it merges into the head of US 59 (cf. plan of the lower excavated levels, Fig. 14).

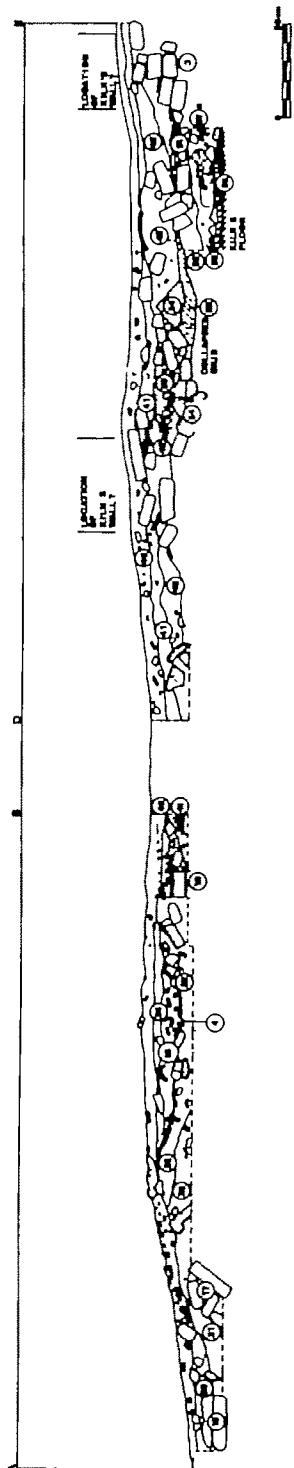


Fig 15 - Section A-E, cutting the cleared area in south-north direction.

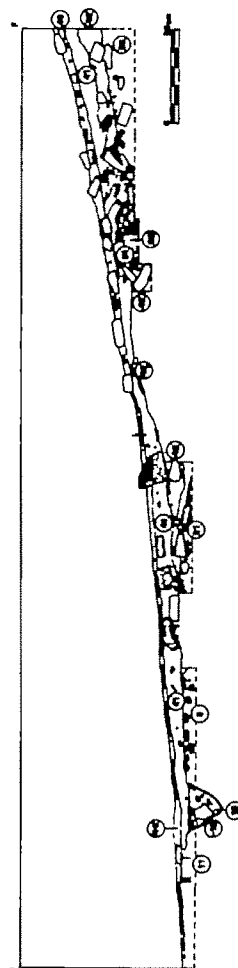


Fig 16 - Section E-F, cutting the cleared area in east-west direction

US 50: Granular silty layer produced by decaying mud-brick architecture and probably re-deposited in dry conditions by gravity. Inclusions are rare.

US 43: Surface of an unexcavated layer, marked by the deposition of the superimposed US 54.

US 60: Thick and homogeneous layer formed exclusively by disaggregated chaff-tempered clay, in which we could recognize large fragments of the perforated floor of the kiln (cf. Figs. 31-32). US 60 was probably formed by the slow crumbling of the peripheral parts of the kiln's perforated floor while its lower chamber was progressively filled by decaying mud-bricks. The head of US 60, together with the surface of US 43, seems to be affected by the deposition of US 54.

US 54: Layer formed by large broken vitrified blocks, fragments of vitrified linings, overfired bricks, fragments of chaff-tempered clay. This US represents probably the output of a large scale destruction event, resulting in the fall or the dumping of large amount of vitrified refuse within the cavity of Kiln A, possibly associated with series of collapses of its residual structure.

US 42: Very homogeneous grayish sandy silt, whose skeleton is composed by a large amount of small scales of fired brick and diffuse small fragments of charcoal. Traces of hydraulic activity are missing, and the whole layer seems to have been deposited in dry conditions. This US seals the underlying dumping — collapsing surface US 54; it is somehow related to the dynamics of collapse and dislocation of the fired bricks of the surrounding architecture (US 3, US 5). On the other hand, its sandy component (indicating its origin from mud-bricks), the large amount of minute charcoal pieces it contains, its very homogeneous texture would suggest that it was originally part of a 'mixed filling' (cf. Balista & Leonardi 1987) or, in alternative, a composite surface forming over the collapsed kiln. In the center of the excavated area (cf. Section F-I) US 42 seems to re-elaborate the inner core of the kiln's filling (US 55, 54, 60), transporting downslope charcoal and small amounts of ash.

US 60A: Thick pocket of chaff-tempered crumbled material, similar to US 60 but looser and less homogeneous.

US 41: Sub-surface layer with silty-sandy matrix, a skeleton formed by millimetric scales of fired bricks, and microscopic fragments of charcoal. It probably represents the result of the post-depositional transformations of the underlying US 42 by saline weathering.

US 40: cf. tract A-B.

3.2. Section F-I (Fig. 16)

US 6: Structural filling belonging to the eroded architectural remains outcropping on the slopes. Its main component are grayish-blackish overfired terracotta nodules, with a diameter of 5-7 cm. Other skeleton components are granules of fired bricks (0.5-2 cm) and rare charcoal bits. The matrix is silty-sandy, very homogeneous.

US 11: Fired brick wall, probably connected with US 6, whose bricks measured 12 × 26 cm.
 US 55: Surface of unexcavated layer, with a composition apparently similar to US 52 and 53 of Section A-E. It contains large pieces of charcoal.
 US 60: Fragments of the chaff-tempered perforated floor or Kiln A (cf. Section A-E, tract C-E).
 US 54: Massive episode of dumping and/or collapse of vitrified kiln fragments on the head of US 60 (cf. Section A-E, tract C-E).
 US 42: cf. Section A-E, tract C-E. The layer merges into the heap of debris formed by US 54 and 60, assuming for a short tract a counter-sloping setting. Here US 42 include large pieces of charcoal and short lenses of ash eroded away from the core of the filling of the kiln.
 US -10, 10: Trace left by a pole installed between the filling US 6 and the wall US 11 (see Figs. 7, 12). The filling of the post-hole is formed exclusively by clean compact silt embedding scales of fired brick and some charcoal bits. Pieces of fired bricks were fitted around the pole as support. A careful inspection of the post-hole filling showed no evidence of vitrified or fired clay particles; it is therefore probable that the wooden elements were removed or decayed somewhere after the abandonment of the houses and before the collapse of the firing installations, i.e. immediately before or simultaneously to their construction.
 US 41, 42: Cf. Section A-E. In this sector, the two US are more significantly affected by the reddish silty component produced by the collapsed fired bricks surrounding the cavity of the destroyed kiln's chamber.

3.3. General Plan (Figs. 12, 13)

The plan represents the general situation at the end of the surface operation. Given the strict constraints of the surface approach, our documentation, using an optimistic term, appears to be very partial, and the interpretations we propose of the structural residues are largely hypothetical, and in some instances conjectural (if not, sometimes, over-speculative). They are anyhow included as they represent all we know on the installations in which stoneware bangles were fired, and they provide interesting implications for the evaluation of the nature of the surface archaeological record.

Starting from south, US 19, 21 and 18 seem to bound a trapezoidal space. Although the stratigraphical relationships among the first two and the latter could not be ascertained by excavation, and the size of the bricks is the same, stratigraphy and the diverging orientation of the walls suggests that 18 is more ancient, belonging to what we labelled Phase 1. It is impossible to understand the relationships between the corner formed by US 19-21 and the residues of a second eroded kiln (Kiln B). In our hypothesis of sequence reconstruction (Fig. 17) US 19 and 21 were ascribed to Phase 2 domestic architecture, before the conversion of the area to industrial exploitation, but they actually might be part of the kiln itself.

The south portion of this space is filled by a massive collapse of unbroken fired bricks, over which the structural filling we labelled as US 31 and 15 was laid. US 15 is formed by a chaotic mass of large vitrified blocks and linings extracted from a dismantled installation; it was laid against the wall US 19, and supports the elongated, concentric structure formed by US 32, 4, 16, that, we believe, represents the remnant of the floor of a pyro-technological infrastructure eroded *in situ* (Kiln B). To be consistent with this interpretation, we have to assume that erosion in this area was strong enough to cancel any trace of the original surface, with the exception of a lower, hardened portion of the kiln's floor.

This floor was covered with a layer of pure ash studded with hundreds of elongated drops of vitrified clay, suggesting that, at the moment of their deposition, they fell from the vault of a closed chamber, retaining heat (probably in a strongly reducing atmosphere) and melting down at the same time.

This hypothetical second kiln was apparently delimited, towards north, by the fired brick wall US 19. In a later phase, the cavity of the floor was filled by dumping large amounts of broken terracotta bangles embedded in a silty matrix (US 34).

In the ground-plan of the northern trench we emphasized the variability of the inclusions rather than the stratigraphic boundaries among the matrices of the various US, very hard to detect where excavation was limited to a depth of 20-10 cm (i.e., to the topmost formation deeply transformed by saline weathering and erosion).

US 6, 11, 7, 9 (and perhaps 21 and 19) belong to the same abandoned and eroded architectural context (our Phase 2). These units have been already described, with the exception of US 7 (a structural filling of potsherds in a soft silty matrix) and US 9 (a further structural filling of sandy silt rich in charcoal particles and deeply affected by saline weathering). All these US form the residual terrace on which the facilities of the stoneware workshop were installed.

The northwestern part of the trench is occupied by an irregular horse-shoe arrangement of broken and unbroken fired bricks (mostly included within US 41 and US 42), with a central depression that, judging from Section F-I, somehow marks the location of the inner chamber of the kiln. The northern part of this feature covers the remains of US 3 (cf. section A-E, tract C-E), to be interpreted as an older architectural element, possibly a standing residue against which Kiln A was built. A second wall, symmetrically arranged, lies probably under the opposite arc of the feature (cf. Section A-E, tract C-E). On the whole, this feature might be preliminarily considered as a secondary deposit, left by the dismantling of structural perimeter of the kiln, but still roughly marking its outline. Two bricks laid on the edge in a line could possibly indicate the actual position of the inner kiln's wall.

The southeastern portion of the trench is occupied by a heavy concentration of large broken vitrified blocks, kiln linings, overfired bricks, broken piles of overfired terracotta bangles, fragments of walls of overfired saggars. This mass of materials belongs stratigraphically to the head of US 60 (where it was labelled as US 54) and to the body of US 42. Its setting is the cumulative result of the dumping and/or

collapsing episodes we hypothesized for US 54, as well as of the subsequent post-depositional movements produced together with US 42, 41, 40.

The stratigraphic position of the post-holes US 10 and (as a consequence) 8 (Figs. 7, 12-13) has been discussed in the context of Section F-I. Their alignment apparently doesn't match with the alignment of any other architectural feature.

3.4. Ground Plan of a Portion of the Kiln's Floor (Fig. 14)

A small trench of about 2 m² was excavated at the northern extremity of Section A-E with the purpose of unearthing the floor and part of the perimeter of Kiln A. This operation led to the identification of the following US:

US -57, 57: US -57 is a foundation trench orthogonal to US 5, subsequently filled by US 57 and by the structural element US 58 and 59. It cuts the filling of overfired nodules US 6 with a vertical trench which we could follow for a depth of 30 cm. The filling US 57 is a chaotic ensemble of sherds in vertical position, broken triangular terracotta cakes, crumbling bones. Vitrified residues were found only on its surface. The matrix is sandy-silty and rather homogeneous.

US 58: Portion of wall in mud-bricks, laid within the foundation trench US -57 and structurally connected with US 59.

US 59: Irregular alignment of broken, perhaps re-utilized vitrified residues, mostly linings and broken kiln blocks. The vitrified pieces were found in an evidently secondary but still structural arrangement along the mud-brick wall US 58. They were embedded in a series of micro-stratified levels of pure silt belonging to US 51 (cf. Section A-E, tract C-E; Section F-I) produced by an extensive processes of decay, weathering and hydraulic re-deposition of the mud-brick architecture surrounding Kiln A.

The trench, furthermore, unearthed a small portion of the surface of US 56, interpretable as the actual floor of the kiln's chamber. The removal of US 53 and 52 showed that the drops of vitrified clay became more and more frequent in correspondence with the floor. More drops were found on its surface, as well as embedded in its body. Furthermore, a strip of vitrified drops, about 10 cm wide, followed the contour of US 59. The association between the floor and the deposition of vitrified clay drops closely reminds the situation described for US 4 and 16.

Apparently, trench US -57 was excavated to build a mud-brick wall at right angle with the contemporary fired brick wall US 5. This wall appears to be connected with the floor US 56 as well as with the alignment of broken vitrified pieces US 59. The most probable interpretation is that a rectangular kiln was installed re-utilizing building materials extracted from nearby standing architecture. All seems to suggest that the actual walls of the kiln were either in mud-bricks, like the south wall US 58, or in mud-bricks and fired bricks, as observed in the tract of wall US 5. The raw of firing saggars recovered in 1983 not far from the kilns' site were sealed by the collapse of a wall built with both types of bricks (Halim & Vidale 1984: 68-69). The broken

fragments of linings and kiln walls' blocks of US 59 could be the remnants of inner vitrified parts purposefully destroyed and fallen at the base of the infrastructure.

If the above assumptions are correct and what we identified is the northeastern corner of a rectangular chamber, it might be observed that the bricks aligned on the edge aside US 3 are oriented at a right angle with the mud-bricks wall US 58. If these two units belong, as they appear, to the same structure, this latter would look like a rectangular, elongated chamber 1.70 m wide and about 3 m long. Unfortunately, this reconstruction is largely speculative. No evidence of the kiln's mouth was on record.

4. *The Archaeological Context: a Preliminary Model (Fig. 17)*

The group of specialized potters who occupied the site was the first community of craftsmen to settle within the boundaries of the urban compound in this point of Mohenjo-Daro. Their installations were later to be covered by the debitage left by craftsmen employing chert end-scrapers, carnelian-agate bead makers, shell workers, and potters producing ceramic containers (Vidale 1990). It has been argued that the sequence of industrial occupations in Moneer SE Area reflects a progressive decrease in the standards of maintenance of the local residential architecture and of the urban facilities, and, as a consequence, decreasing standards of local policy in this particular site. This does not involve that the same process was taking place all over the city; actually, the well defined boundaries of the distribution of craft indicators within the Moneer insula might suggest that this latter was surrounded by more common living quarters.

At the beginning of this process, the makers of stoneware bangles appear to have re-settled a 'block' or a rectangular insula in a part of the city where dwellings had been abandoned. Stratigraphic analysis of the interfaces between the dumps of semiprecious stones and the underlying architecture suggested that at the moment of dumping the architecture was already in an advanced stage of decay and erosion (Vidale 1990). The evidence of collapsing architecture in primary context of deposition from the saggars' store room is apparently confirmed by the evidence of US 17, a massive collapse of unbroken fired bricks probably generated by the wall US 18. As US 17 does not show any evidence of weathering in ancient times, it is probable that the wall fell or was intentionally thrown down during the time of activity and maintenance of the firing installations.

It is therefore probable that the stoneware makers occupied this part of the city while at least part of the architecture was still standing, or could be easily re-structured using largely available unweathered mud-bricks and fired bricks. This model reminds the archaeological context of the shell-working compound excavated in the thirties on the citadel (Marshall 1931: 165; Kenoyer 1984: 105). Stoneware potters damaged the underlying architectural substrata by laying trenches and, perhaps, erecting wooden architecture. The saggars' store room was most probably a covered space; although

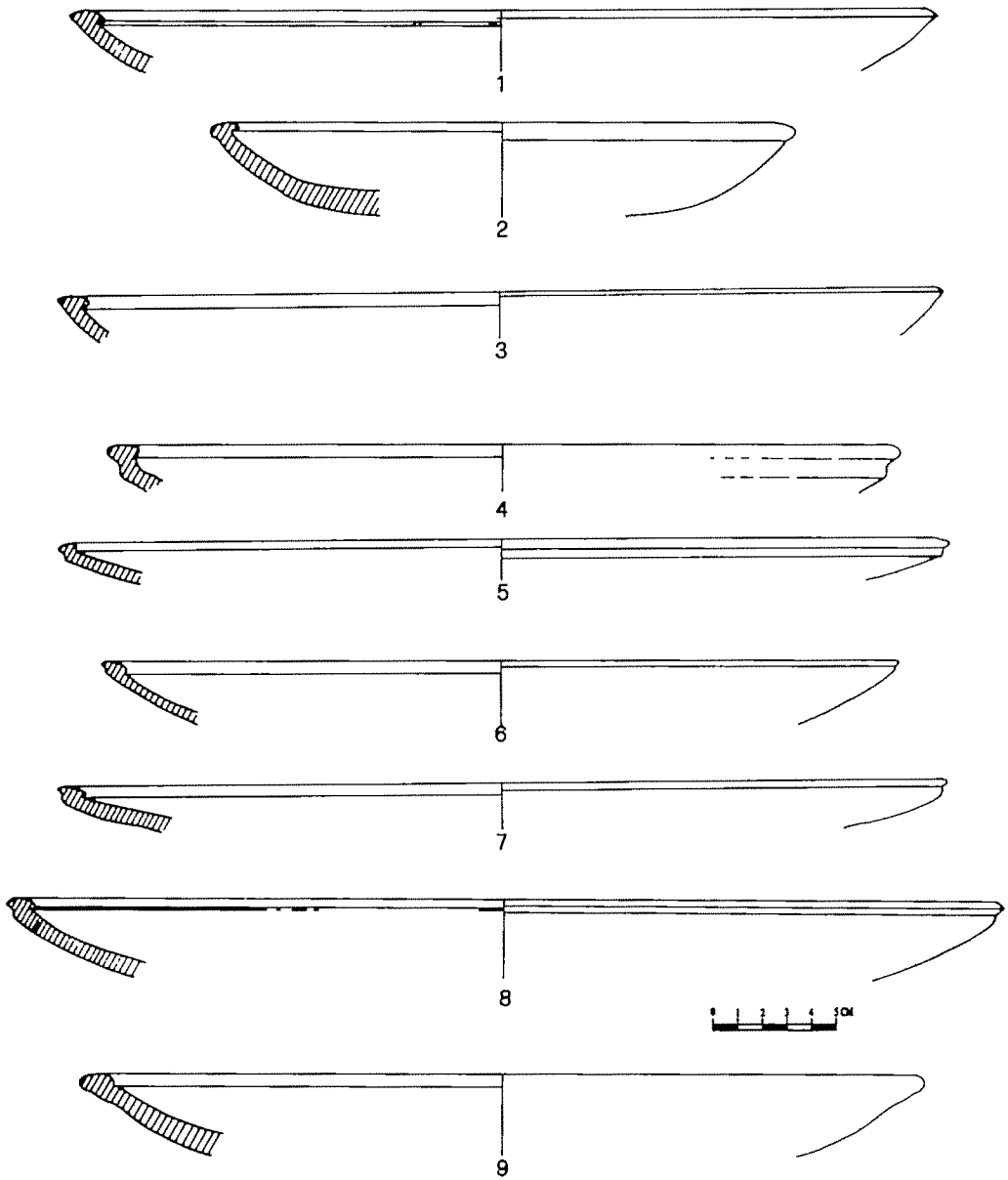


Fig. 21 - Dishes with Complex Internal Projecting (V) Beaked rim (1, 3); with Complex Bilateral Projecting (VIII) rim (2, 5-9). 1: R4 (40), RO, 2W, VC; 2: R (?) (40), RO, 2W, VIII; 3: R6 (40), RO, 2W, VC; 4: Sporadic, RO, 2W, VIII; 5: US (57), RO, 2W, VIII; 6: N5 (40), RO, 2W, VIII; 7: S8 (40), RO, 2W, VIII; 8: US (57), RO, 2W, VIII; 9: US (40), RO, 2W, VIII. Bibliography: Dales & Kenoyer 1986: figs 64-66, Alcock 1986: figs. 22.107, 32.7

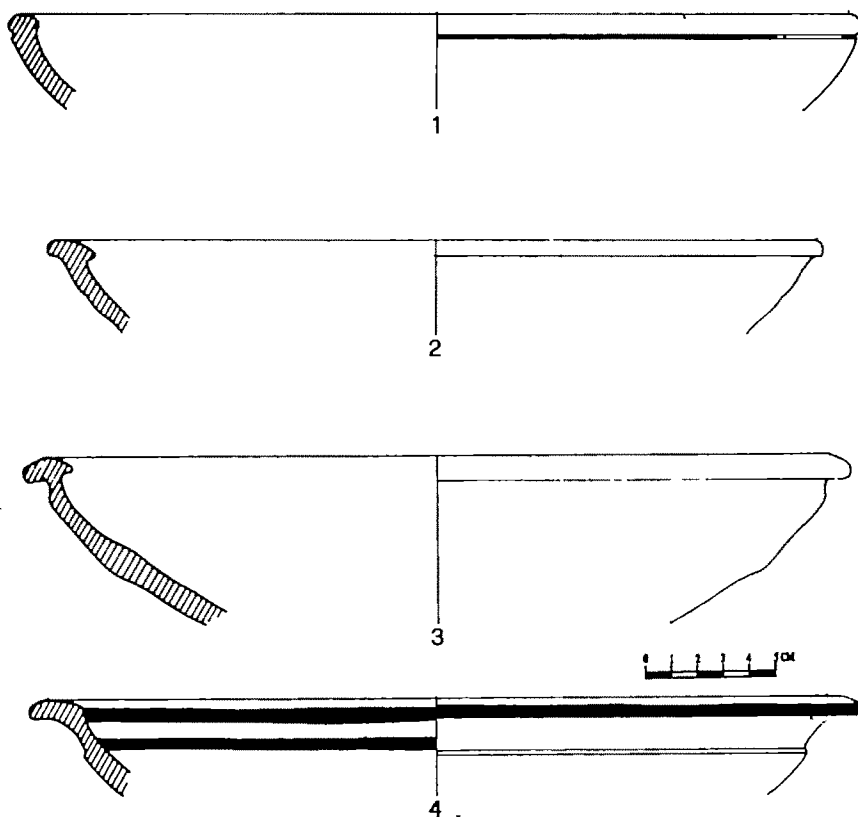


Fig. 22 - Dish (1) and Bowls (2-4). Dish no. 1 has a Complex Bilateral Projecting (VIII) rim with Equal (A) Projection. Bowls 2-4 have a Complex Bilateral Projecting (VIII) rim, with More External Projection (B) 1: US (40), RO, 2W, VIIA; 2: S6 (40), RO, 2W, VIIIB; 3: R6 (40), RO, 2W, VIIIB; 4: Q9 (40), RO, 2W, VIIIB. Bibliography: for no. 1 see Dales & Kenoyer 1986: figs. 64.1, 65.1; for no. 2, see *ibid.*: fig. 56.1, for no. 3, see Alcock 1986: fig. S1369e; for no. 4, see again Dales & Kenoyer 1986: figs. 59.5, 60.5; see also Alcock 1986 fig. S22.106.

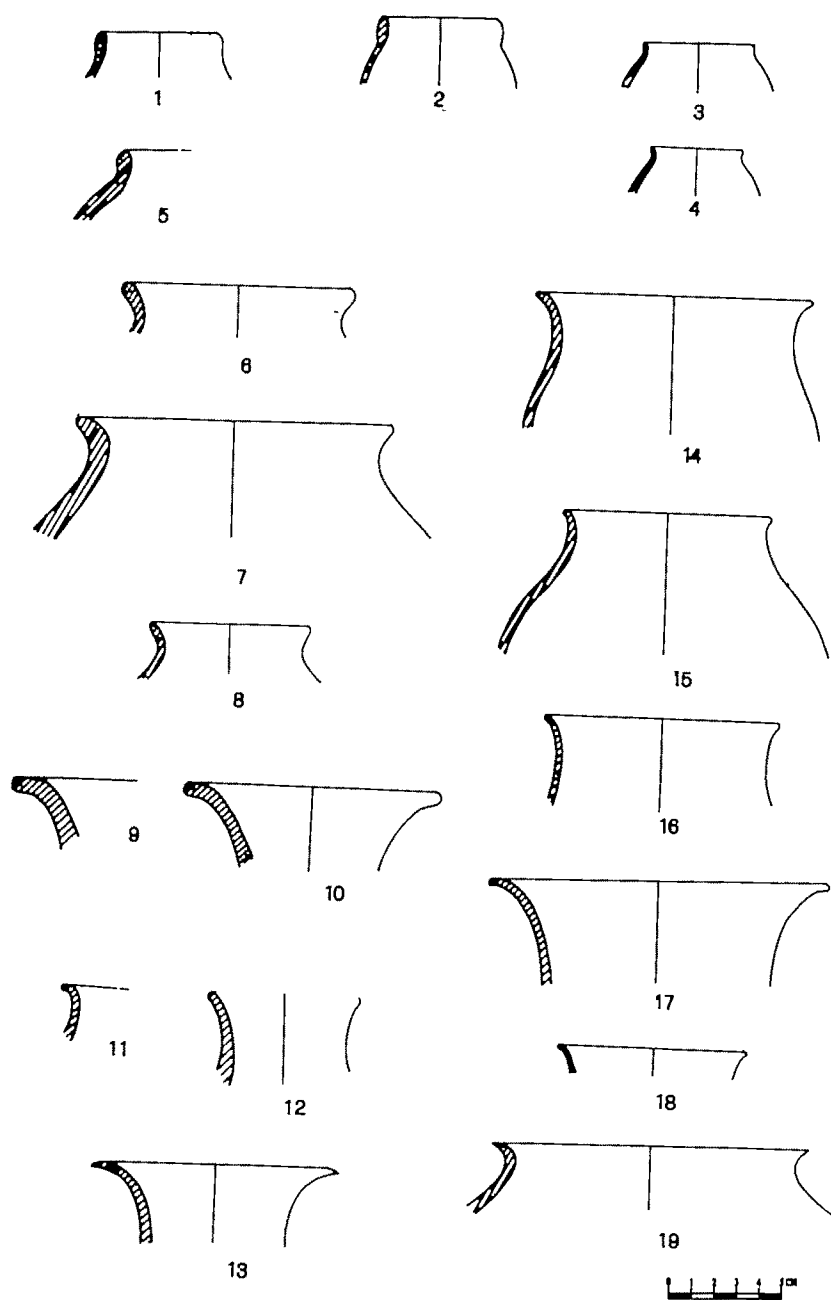


Fig. 23 - Jars or Pots: with Simple (I) Perpendicular (B) or Everted (A) rims. 1: S8 (40), RO, 2W, IB; 2: S8 (40), RO, 2W, IB; 3: M6 (40), RO, 3W, IB; 4: US (40), RO, 2W, IB; 5: Sporadic, RO, 2W, IB; 6: P5 (40), RO, 2W, IA; 7: N8 (40), RO, 2W, IA; 8: US (57), RO, 2W, IA; 9: R6 (40), RO (RSL), 3W, IA; 10: P8 (40), RO, 2W, IA; 11: O4 (41), RO, 1W, IA; 12: US (40), RO, 1W, IA; 13: O3 (40), RO, (RSL), 3W, IA; 14: S7 (40), RO, 2W, IA; 15: R10 (40), RO, 2W, IA; 16: US (40), RO, 1W, IA; 17: P8 (40), RO, 2W, IA; 18: 17 (40), RO, 2W, IA; 19: US (40), RO, 2W, IA Bibliography: from nos. 1 to 4 see Marshall 1931: pls. LV 36, LVII 30, LX 33-35, 37, 38; from nos. 9 to 12 see Dales & Kenoyer 1986: fig. 22; for no. 13 see *ibid.*: fig. 20.1.

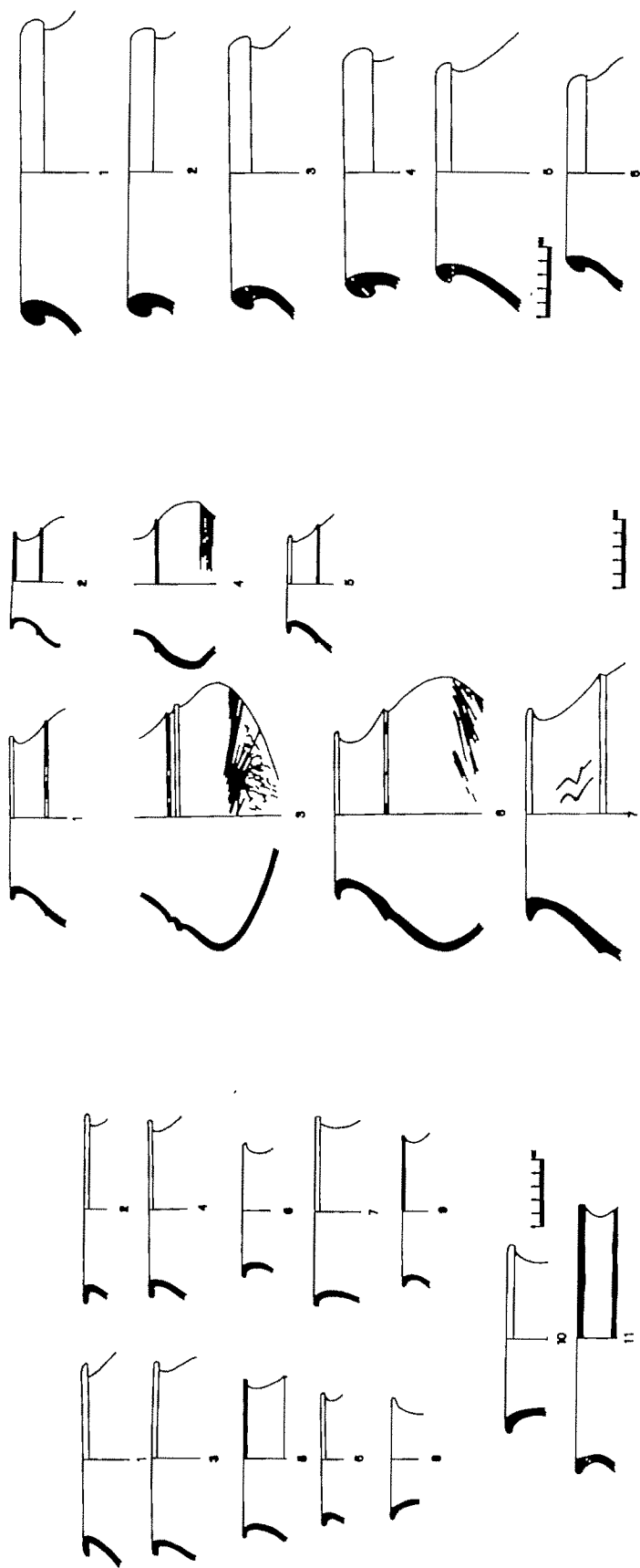


Fig. 24 - Jars or Pots: with Simple (I) External Projecting (D) rims (1-7); with Complex External Projecting (III) Beaked (C) rims (8-12). This type of sherds probably belongs to vessels identical or similar to those reproduced in Fig. 25. 1: P9 (40), RO (BSL), 2W, ID; 2: N8 (40), RO (RSL), 2W, ID; 3: P5 (57) A, RO (BSL), 2W, ID; 4: P5 (57) A, RO (RSL), 2W, ID; 5: US (57), RO, 2W, ID; 6: US (57), RO, 2W, ID; 7: US (57), RO (RSL), 2W, ID; 8: P8 (40), RO, 2W, IIC; 9: P7 (40), RO (RSL), 1W, IIC; 10: P5 (51), RO, 2W, IIC; 11: M8 (42), RO, 2W, IIC; 12: Q4 (41), RO, 2W, IIC.

Fig. 25 - Pots with Simple (I), External Projecting (D) and Complex External Projecting (III) Beaked (C) rims. This distinctive type of Harappan vessel was doubtless used as a cooking pot. The bottom, constructed most probably by paddle and anvil, may be roughly scraped or coated with sand; its function is demonstrated by the very common occurrence of sooting marks. No. 7 comes from a nearby sub-surface test carried out in 1985 (Vidale 1987a). 1: P5 (57) A, RO (BSL), 2W, IIC; 2: R6 (40), RO (BSL), 2W, ID; 3: US (7), RO (BSL), 2W, ID; 4: S5 (40), RO (BSL), 2W, rim missing; 5: R6 (40), RO (BSL), 2W, IIC; 7: other location, RO (BSL), 2W, IIC. Bibliography: Dales & Kenoyer 1986: 132-42; Marshall 1931: pl. LX 31, 32, 36.

Fig. 26 - Jars or Pots: with Complex External Projecting (II) Rounded (A) rims. 1: US (40), RO, 2W, IIA; 2: R8 (40), RO, 1W, IIA; 3: Q4 (42), RO, 1W, IIA; 4: Sporadic, RO, 1W, IIA; 5: P6 (60), RO, 2W, IIA; 6: O3 (9), RO, 2W, IIA.

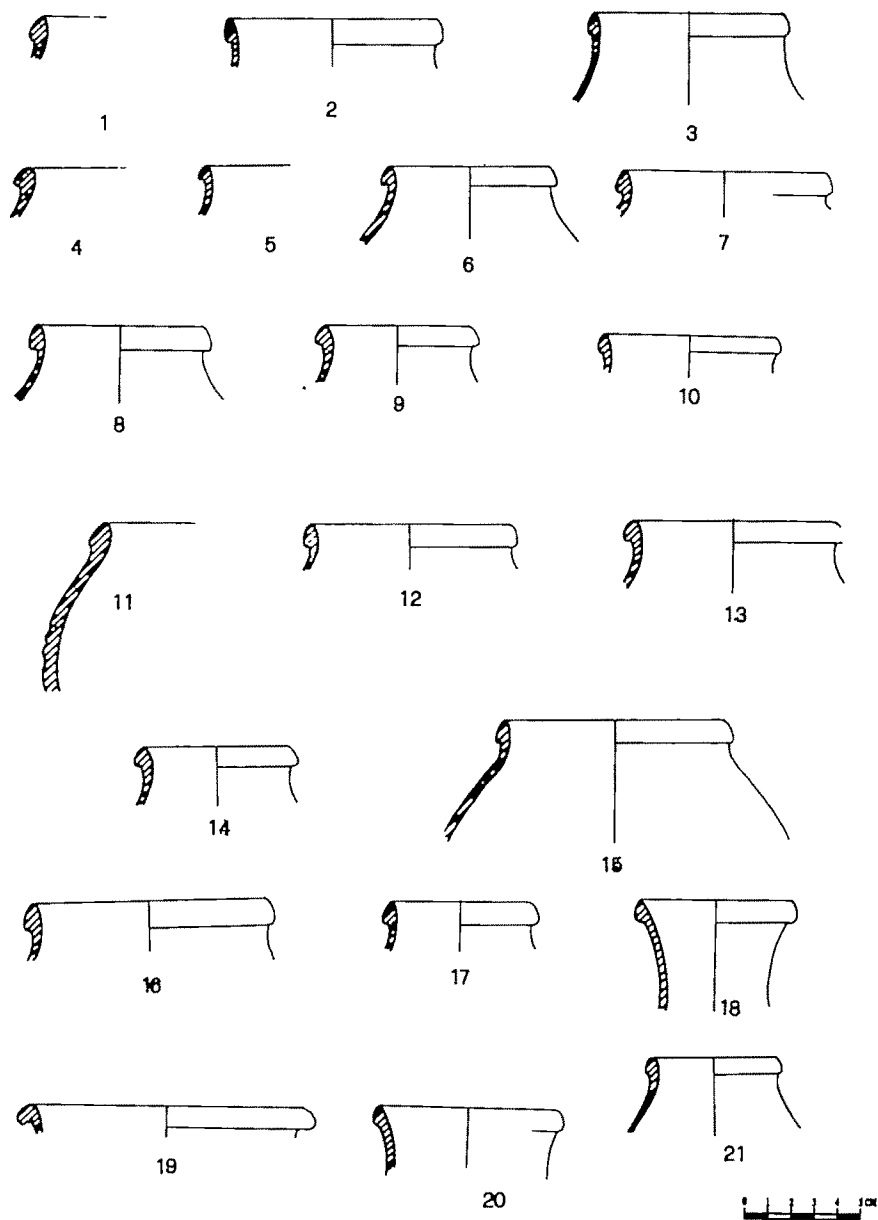


Fig 27 - Jars or Pots: with Complex External Projecting (II) Rounded (A) rims. 1: O9 (40), RO, 2W, IIA; 2: S8 (40), RO, 1W, IIA; 3: P3 (41), RO, 1W, IIA; 4: O9 (40), RO, 1W, IIA; 5: Q10 (55), Buff Ware, 1W, IIA; 6: S8 (40), RO, 1W, IIA; 7: S8 (40), RO, 3W, IIA; 8: M6 (40), RO, 2W, IIA; 9: S9 (40), RO, 2W, IIA; 10: P3 (6), RO, 2W, IIA; 11: O4 (41), RO, 2W, IIA; 12: N4 (41), RO, 2W, IIA; 13: S6 (40), RO, 2W, IIA; 14: S9 (40), RO, 2W, IIA; 15: S6 (40), RO, 2W, IIA; 16: M6 (40), RO, 2W, IIA; 17: R6 (40), RO, 1W, IIA; 18: I3 (40), RO, 2W, IIA; 19: Q7 (40), RO, 2W, IIA; 20: Q7 (41), RO, 2W, IIA; 21: I3 (40), RO, 2W, IIA.

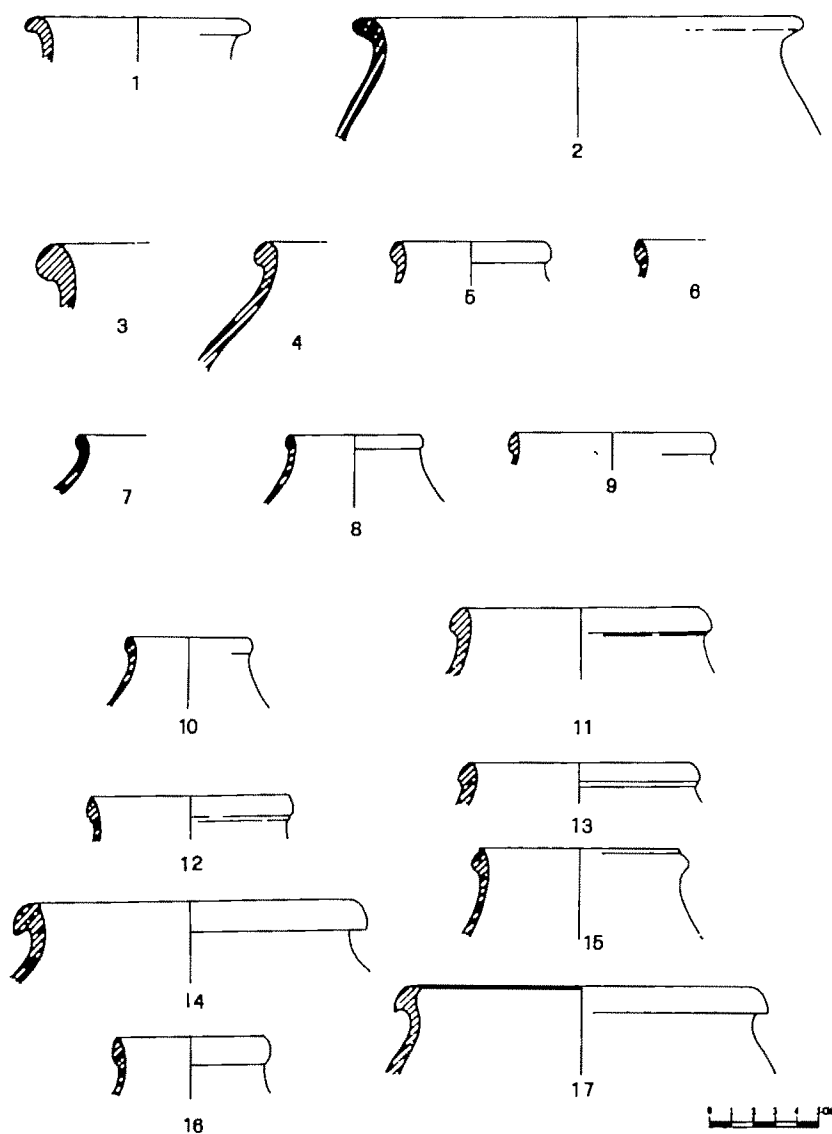


Fig. 28 - Jars or Pots: 1-13, 15, 16: with Complex External Projecting (II) Rounded (A) rims. 11 and 13 have a thin ridge running under the rim, while 15 and 16 show a thin ridge on the vertical tangency point of the rim. 1 and 17 have Bilateral Projecting (VIII) rims. 1: O5 (40), RO, 2W, IIA; 2: O9 (40), RO, 2W, IIA; 3: S8 (40), RO, 1W, IIA; 4: R7 (40), RO, 1W, IIA; 5: US (40), RO, 1W, IIA; 6: US (40), RO, 1W, IIA; 7: M3 (40), RO, 2W, IIA; 8: US (40), RO, 1W, IIA, M9 (40), RO, 2W, IIA; 10: US (40), RO, 2W, IIA; 11: US (40), RO, 2W, IIA; 12: US (40), RO, 2W, IIA; 13: US (40), RO, 2W, IIA; 14: US (40), RO, 2W, VIII; 15: P3 (41), RO, 1W, IIA; 16: R6 (40), RO, 3W, IIA; 17: Q6 (40), RO, 2W, VIII. Bibliography: From nos 11 to 13 Alcock 1986: fig. S12.60 *e-f*; no. 17, see Marshall 1931: pl. LV 25.

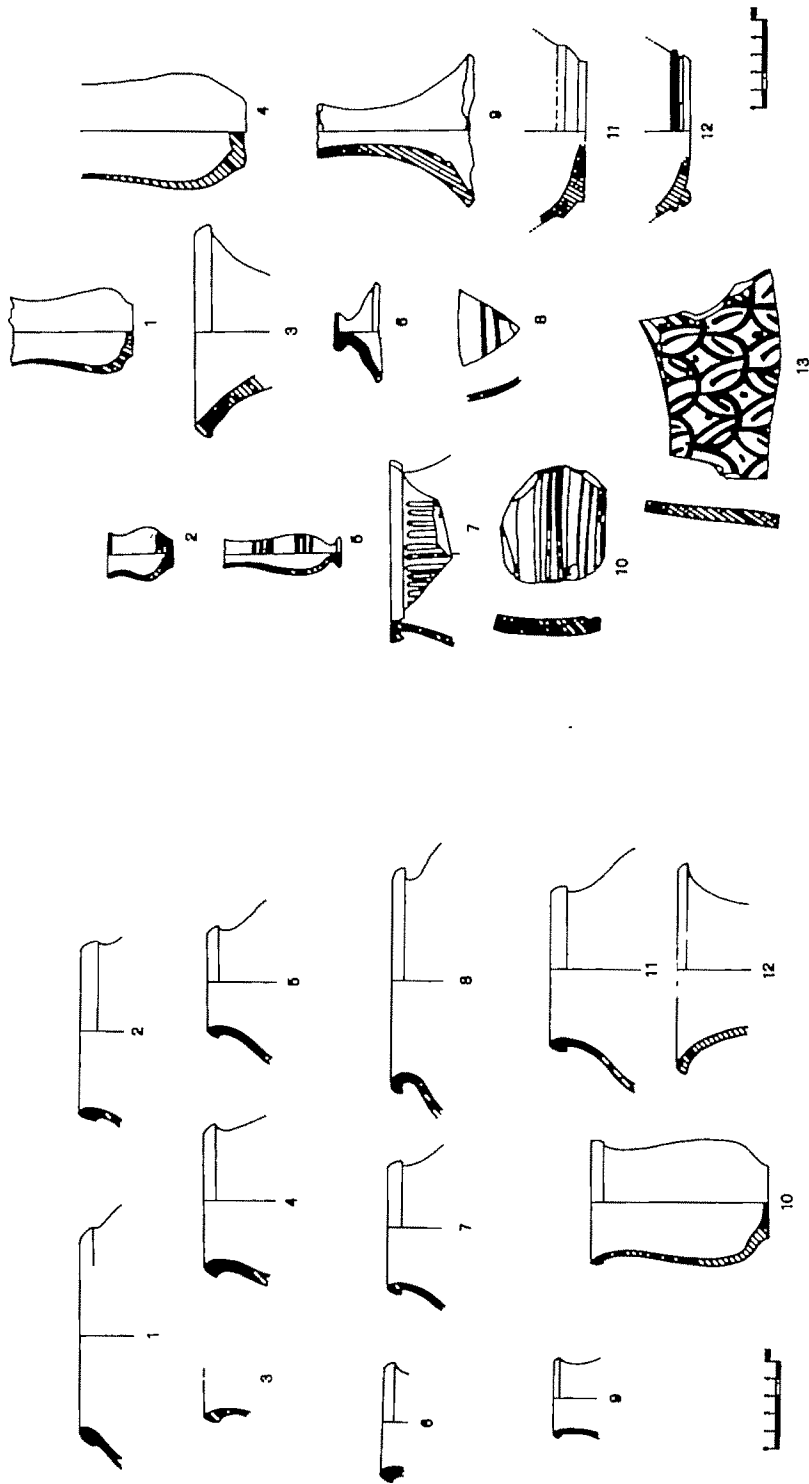


Fig. 29 - Jars or Pots: with Complex External Projecting (II) Short Beaked (C) rims. 1: O7 (40), RO, 1W, IIC; 2: R6 (40), RO, 1W, IIC; 3: Q6 (40), RO, 2W, IIC; 4: P9 (40), RO, 2W, IIC; 5: P9 (40), RO, 2W, IIC; 6: US (40), RO, 1W, IIC; 7: S8 (40), RO, 2W, IIC; 8: M8 (40), RO, 2W, IIC; 9: N1 (40), RO, 2W, IIC; 10: K3 (33), RO, 2W, IIC; 11: US (40), RO (RSL), 2W, IIC; 12: US (40), RO, 2W, IIC. Bibliography: no. 1, see Marshall 1931: pl. LVII 32, 40; Dales & Kenoyer 1986: fig. 27.4; no. 10, see Marshall 1931: pls. LII 25, 27, 35, LII 11, 12, 25, 40, 41.

Fig. 30 - Miscellaneous pottery. For nos. 1, 2, 4, see Fig. 29.10. No. 3 is a sherd with Complex External Projecting (II) Short Beaked (C) rim. No. 5 is a miniaturistic jar with a slender body; no. 6, another miniaturistic jar; no. 7 a sherd with Complex External Projecting (II) Quadrangular (D) rim, well burnished at the neck. 1: US (40), RO, 2W, rim missing; 2: P5 (40), RO, 2W, IA; 3: Q4 (40), RO (RSL), 2W, IIC; 4: P4 (42), RO, 2W, rim missing; 5: P5 (40), BOR, 1W, rim missing; 6: US (40), RO, 1W; 7: O4 (7), Gray slipped, burnished ware with vertical pattern, 1W, IID2; 8: M7 (40), BOR, 3W, rim missing; 9: US (40), RO (RSL), 3W, rim missing; 10: P4 (42), Buff ware (slightly overfired), 1W (rounded scraper); 11: O6 (40), RO (BSL), 1W, rim missing; 12: Q9 (40), RO (BSL), 1W, rim missing; 13: P2 (7), BOR, 1W, rim missing. Bibliography: for nos. 1 and 4 see Marshall 1931: pls. LII 25, 27, 35, LIII 12, 25, 40, 41; for no. 2, Dales & Kenoyer 1986: fig. 22-24; no. 5 may be compared with the specimens published in Marshall 1931: pl. LVII 12; for no. 7 see Dales & Kenoyer 1986: fig. 15.3, 4; for nos. 11 and 12 see *ibid.*: fig. 37.4-6, and Marshall 1931: pls. LV 23, LVIII 28, 33; finally, no. 13 may be compared with Marshall 1931: pl. LVIII 7, and with many other similar published specimens

Fig. 31 - 1-2: vitrified clay 'stalactite' elements, produced by the melting of the inner linings of the holes in the perforated floor of Kiln A (see Fig. 9); 3-6: broken piles of vitrified and warped terracotta bangles (see Fig. 10). These piles were laid over the perforated floor of the kiln to support the large outer saggars use to fire stoneware bangles in a reducing atmosphere (Halim & Vidale 1984; Vidale 1987). 1 and 2 from US (33), the others from US (34).

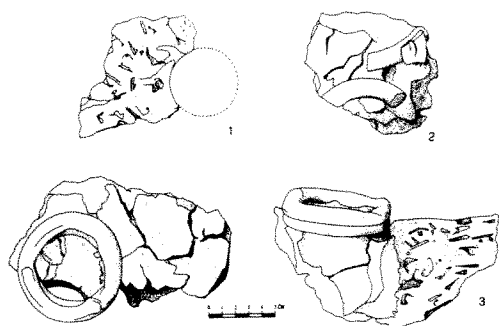
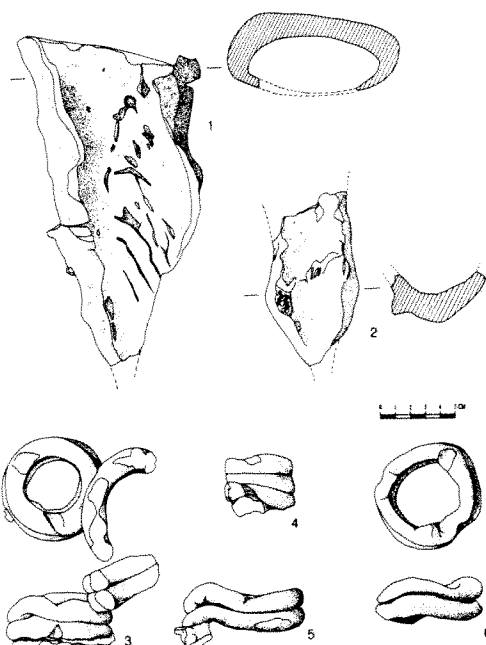
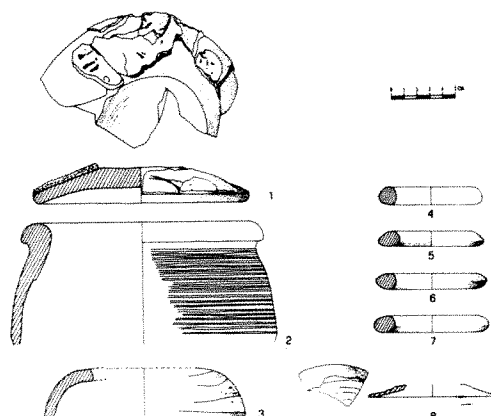


Fig. 32 - Fragments of the chaff-tempered perforated floor of Kiln A. No. 3 shows a pile of superimposed terracotta bangles partially over-lapping a fluehole. Provenance: Q7 (41) (60)A.

Fig. 33 - 1: terracotta wheel-thrown lid with remains of a chaff-tempered clay coating, and perhaps of sealings; 2: upper part of a Coated Carinated Jar (CCJ) with its distinctive comb-like treatment on the outer surface; 3: inner lid in terracotta, probably used for a CCJ (cf. Halim & Vidale 1984); 4-7: gray to black stoneware bangles with rounded or oval section; 8: lid of a Coated sub-cylindrical bowl with traces of a chaff-tempered outer coating (CSB) (Halim & Vidale 1984). All the objects from the surface and from the layers contained in Kiln A.



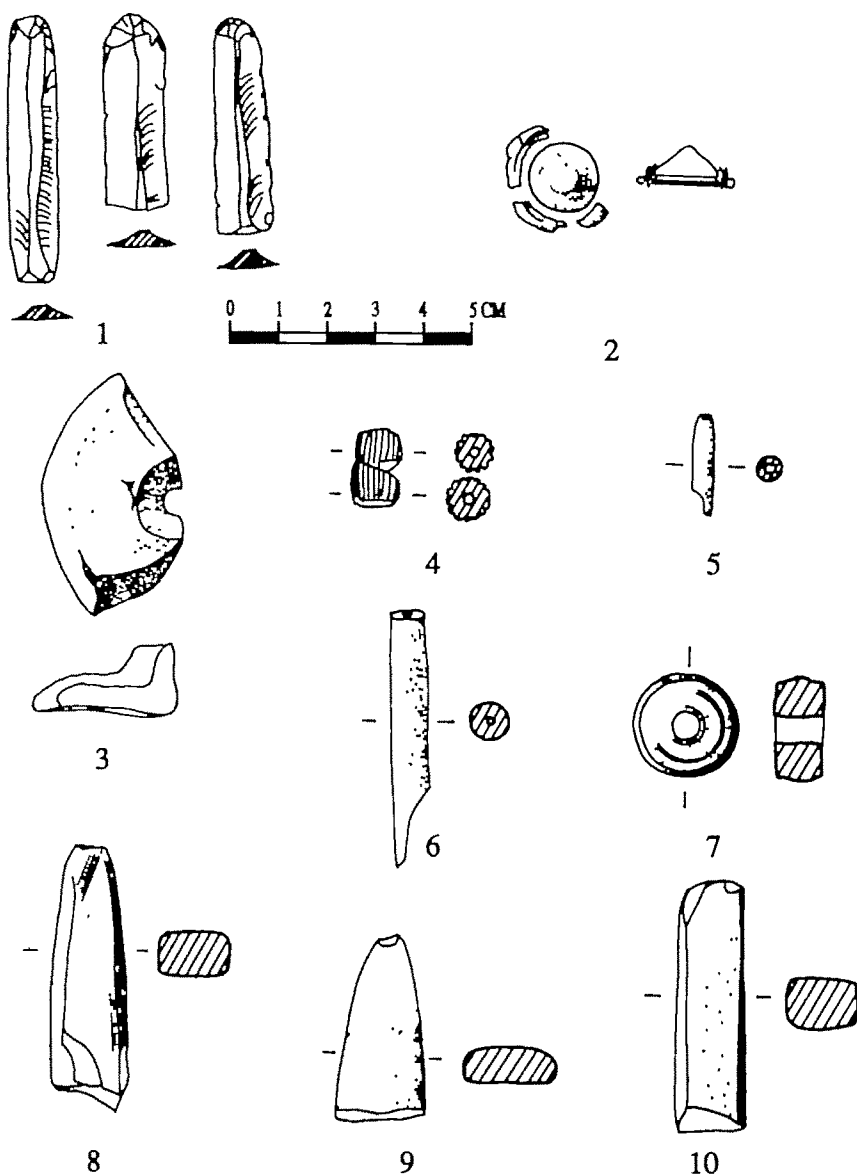


Fig. 34 - Small finds recovered from the surface clearing. 1: Chert end-scrapers recovered on the interface between US (34)-(16) and (32)-(34), sq. R10 (see Fig. 15), corresponding to the active erosion processes on the remains of Kiln B. The identification of the stratigraphical setting of these distinctive tools, forming a well defined cluster or 'activity area' on the surface of the site, allowed M. Vidale (1990) to place this evidence in a hypothesis of reconstruction of the relative chronology of the activity area. 2: Hornblende-amphibolite (?) 'pendant' surrounded by a copper-bronze hollow ring from US (41) (see Fig. 11; cf. Marshall 1931: pl. CXLVII 30, 34-36; Mackay 1943: pl. CVII 17). 3: broken terracotta wheel from R6 (42). 4: Terracotta beads from US (40), stuck together as a consequence of forming and firing procedures (they would seem to have been formed by extrusion and defectively separated). 5, 6: fragments of elongated terracotta beads from N5 (40). 6 is an imitation of the classic 'long-barrel' carnelian beads. In the layers related to the use and abandonment of the kilns, the presence of terracotta beads and the absence of semiprecious stone beads might be hypothetically related to a relatively low social status of part of the stoneware craftsmen. 7: Terracotta spindle whorl from US (40) (41). 8-10: fragments of terracotta objects showing along their faces strong traces of wear, resembling some kind of whetstone. Provenance: S10, M9, M7, US (40).

APPENDIX 1

More Ceramics from the Surface of Moneer SE Area (Figs. 36-47)

This second collection of pottery from the surface of the site was collected, mapped and drafted by O. Volpicelli in 1984, as a part of her pre-M.A. training. We decided to collect and document all the diagnostic pottery on the slopes of the site, with the exception of few rims of overfired sherds (most of which of the 'pointed goblet' type) collected during the systematic survey of the craft activity area. We also recorded, across squares measuring 10 × 10 m, the rates of overfired versus non-overfired pottery (Fig. 35). The end of our program of surface analysis in 1986 prevented us from carrying out a more complete classification and study of the sherds so recorded. This information, although partial, is included in this paper for the sake of completeness, hoping it will contribute to a sounder interpretation of the archaeology of this part of Mohenjo-Daro.

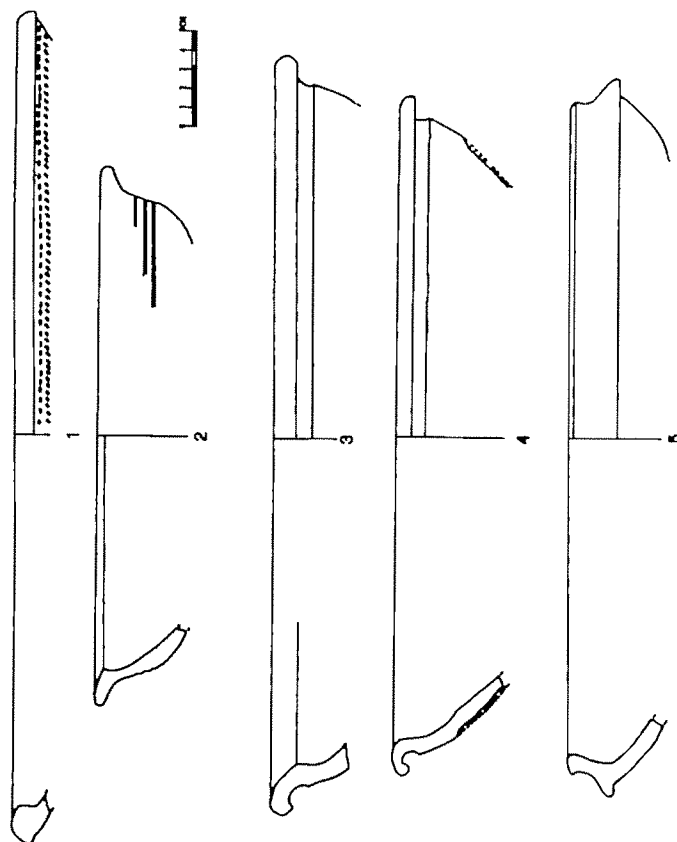


Fig. 37 - Dishes or Bowls. 1: 1250:1260-2840-2850; 2: Sporadic; 3: 1260-1270-2850:2860; 4: 1260-1270-2840-2850; 5: 1240:1250-2850:2860. Bibliography: for no. 1 see Dales & Kenoyer 1986: fig. 50.2-3; 2: for no. 2, cf. *ibid.*: figs. 59.5, 64.8; for nos. 3 and 4, see *ibid.*: fig. 61.4-5; for no. 5, *ibid.*: fig. 62.1

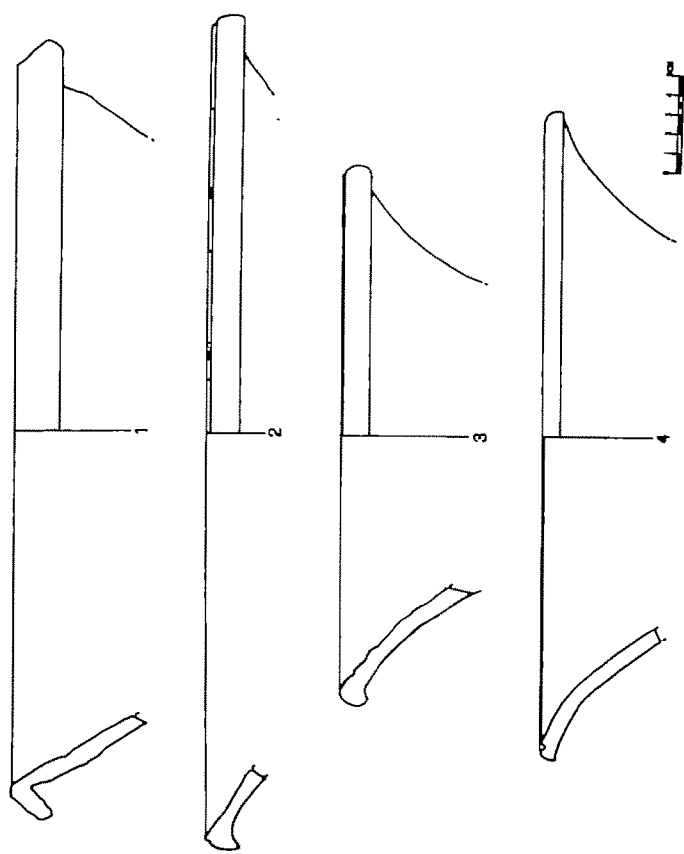


Fig. 38 - Dishes or Bowls. 1: 1240:1250-2850:2860; 2: 1240:1250-2840:2850; 3: 1260:1270-2840:2850; 4: 1260:1270-2840:2850. Bibliography: for no. 1, Dales & Kenoyer 1986: figs. 47, 48, 84 4; Alcock 1986: figs. S14, 71a, and others.

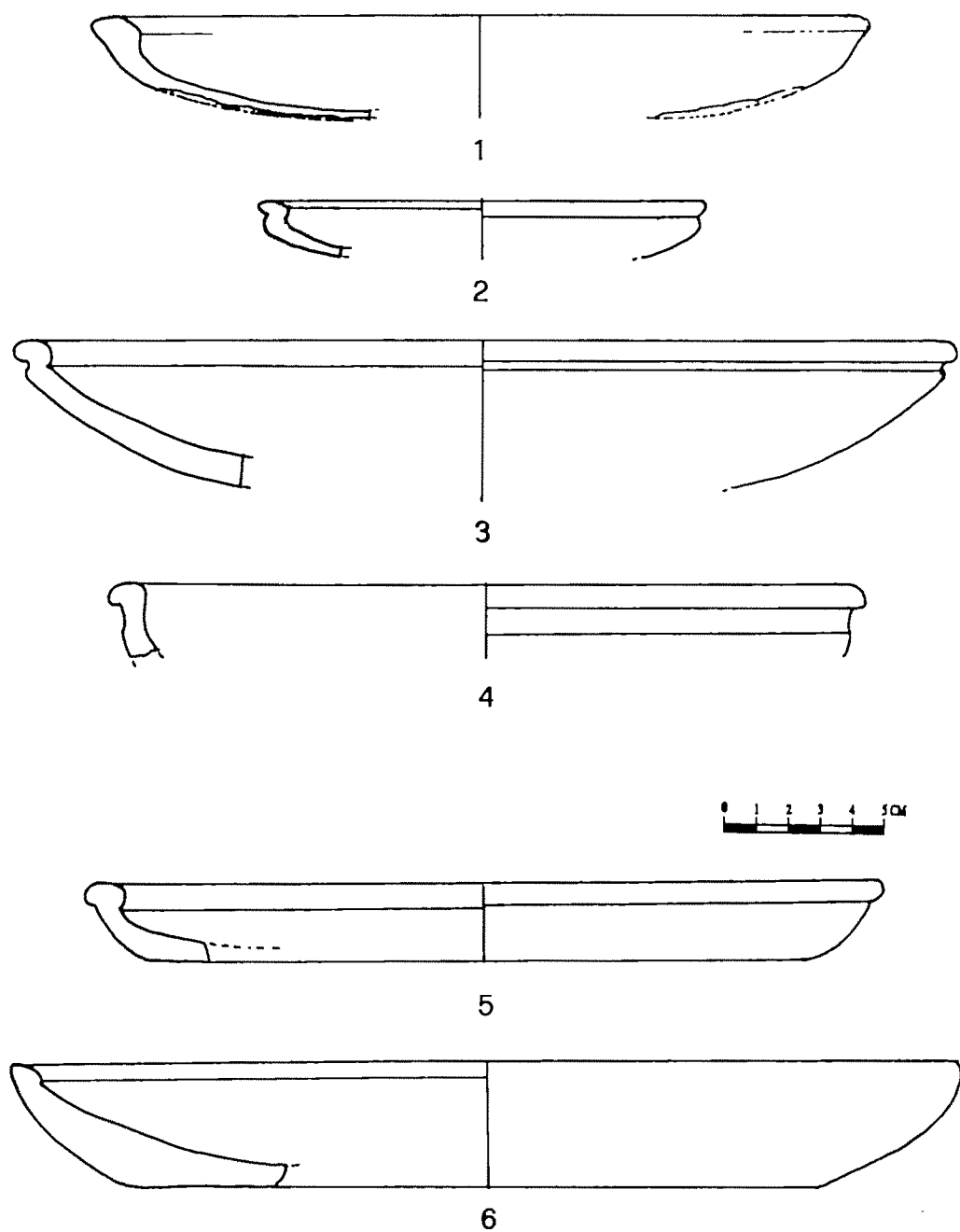


Fig. 39 - Dishes or Bowls. 1, 2: 1240:1250-2840:2850; 3: 1240:1250:2870:2880; 4, 5: 1260:1270-2850:2860; 6: 1260:1270-2840:2850. Bibliography: Alcock 1986: figs. S15, S22.

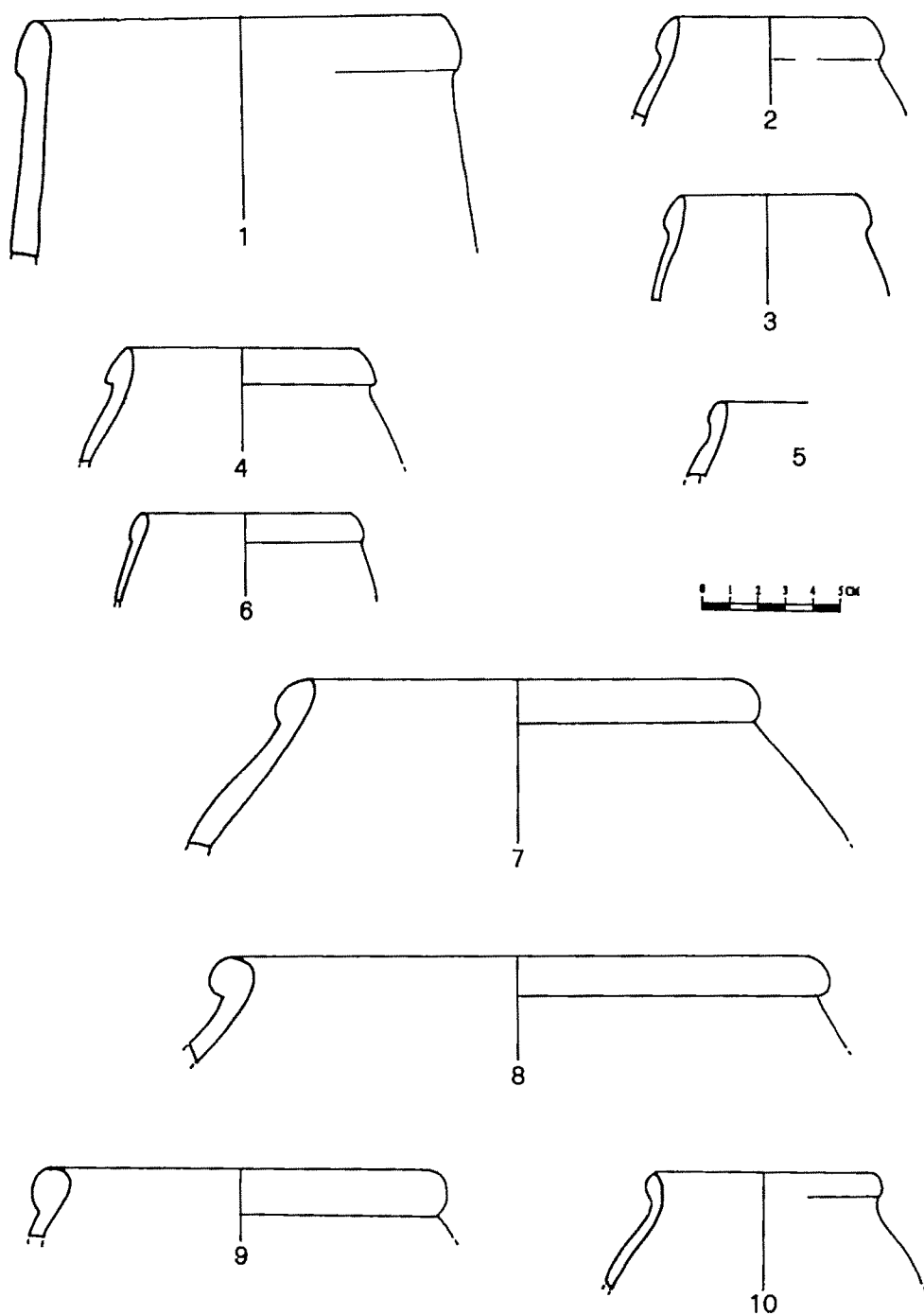


Fig. 40 - Pots or Jars. 1: 1240:1250-2840:2850; 2: 1260:1270-2870:2880; 3: 1240:1250-2820:2830; 4: 1270:1280-2870:2880; 5: 1250:1260-2870:2880; 6: 1240:1250-2820:2830; 7,8: 1260:1270-2870:2880; 8: 1260:1270-2850:2860; 9: 1260:1270-2850:2860; 10: 1250:1260-2840:2850. Bibliography: nos. 1-3, 6: cf. Alcock 1986: fig. S25.18.

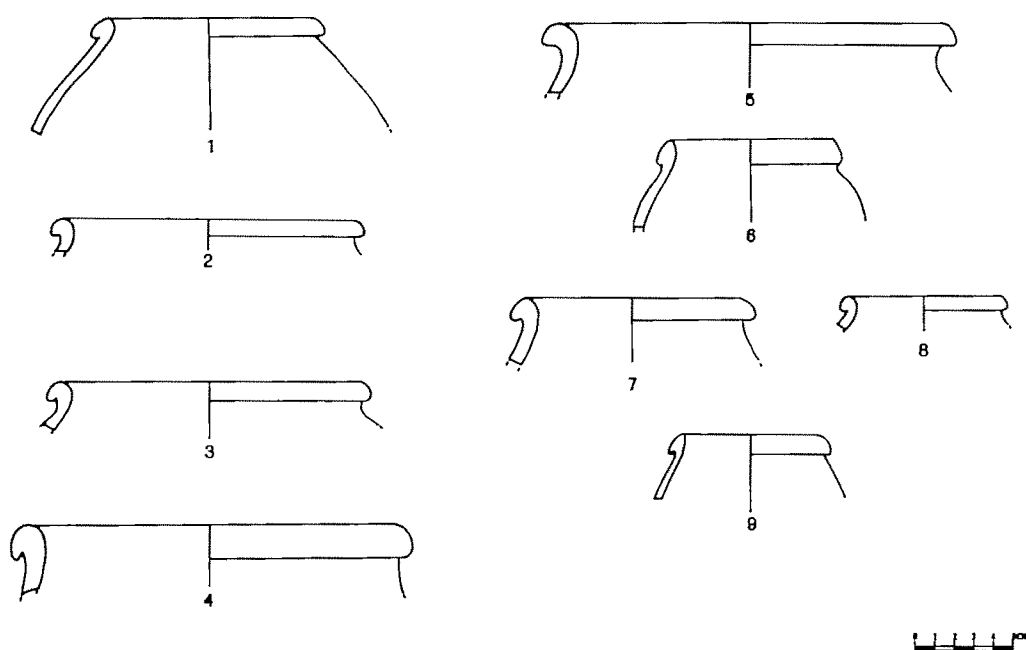


Fig. 41 - Pots or Jars. 1,2: 1260:1270-2860:2870; 3: 1240:1250-2840:2850; 4: 1260:1270-2850:2860; 5: 1250:1260-2840:2850; 6: 1240:1250-2820:2830; 7,8: 1260:1270-2870:2880; 9: 1270:1280-2830:2840.
Bibliography: Alcock 1986: fig. S25 117.

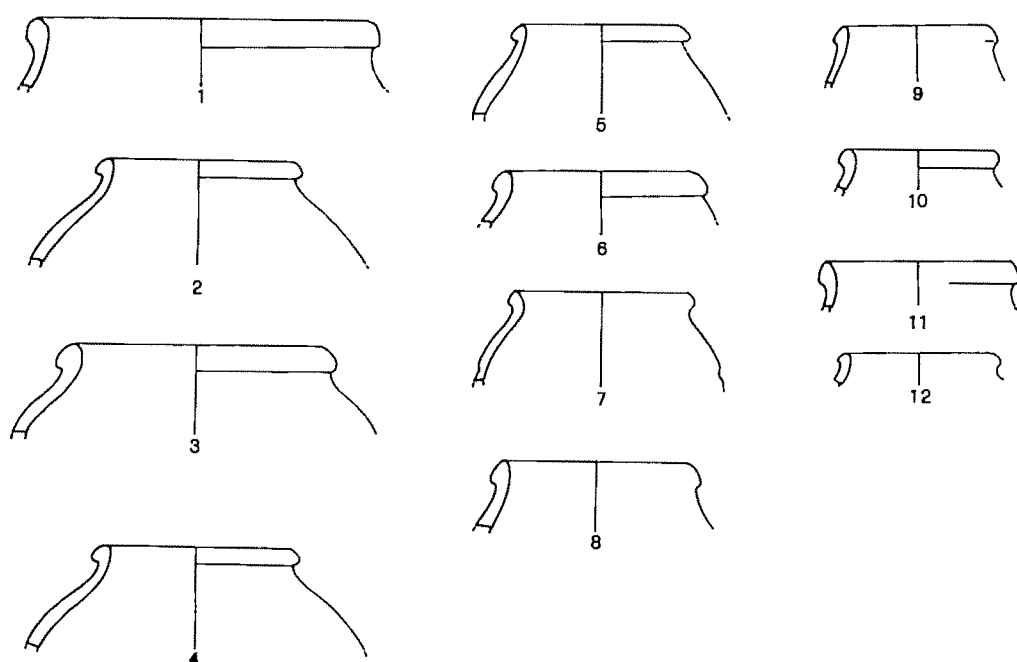


Fig. 42 - Pots or Jars. 1, 2: 1240.1250-2820:2830; 3: 1260:1270-2870:2880; 4: 1260:1270-2840:2850; 5: 1260:1270-2850:2860; 6: 1235:1240-2820:2830; 7,8: 1260:1270-2850:2860; 9: Sporadic; 10, 11: 1260:1270-2850:2860; 12: 1270:1280-2830:2840.

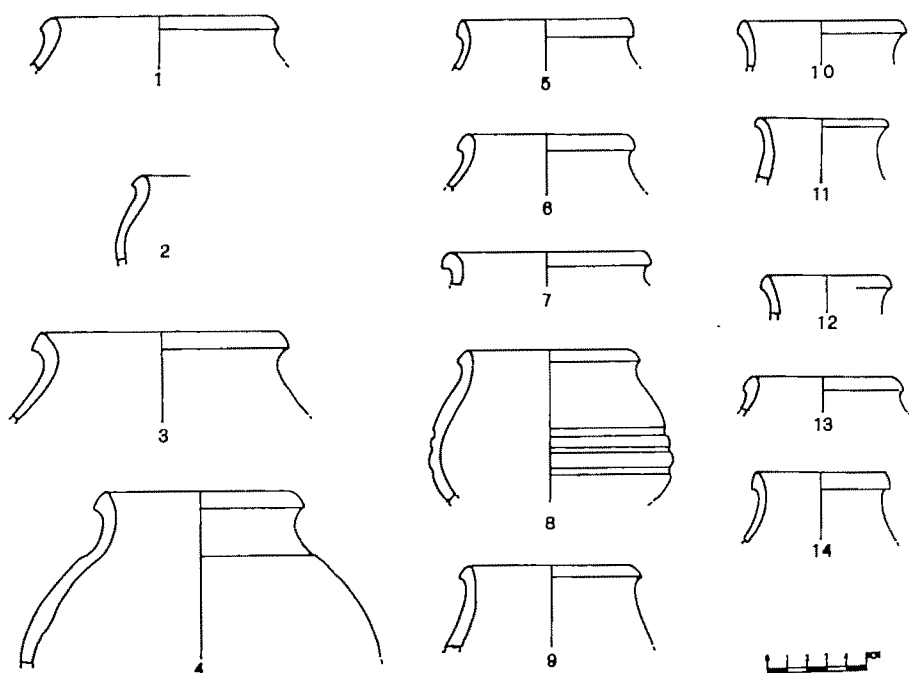


Fig. 43 - Pots or Jars. 1: 1260:1270-2850:2860; 2: 1270:1280-2820:2830; 3,4: 1260:1270-2850:2860; 5: 1240:1250-2850:2860; 6: 1260:1270-2840:2850; 7: 1260:1270-2870:2880; 8: 1260:1270-2840:2850; 9: 1260:1270-2850:2860; 10: 1240:1250-2830:2840; 11: 1240:1250-2850:2860; 12: 1270:1280-2830:2840; 13: 1240:1250-2830:2840; 14: 1240:1250-2850:2860. Bibliography: for no. 8, see Alcock 1986: fig. S24.114 a-j.

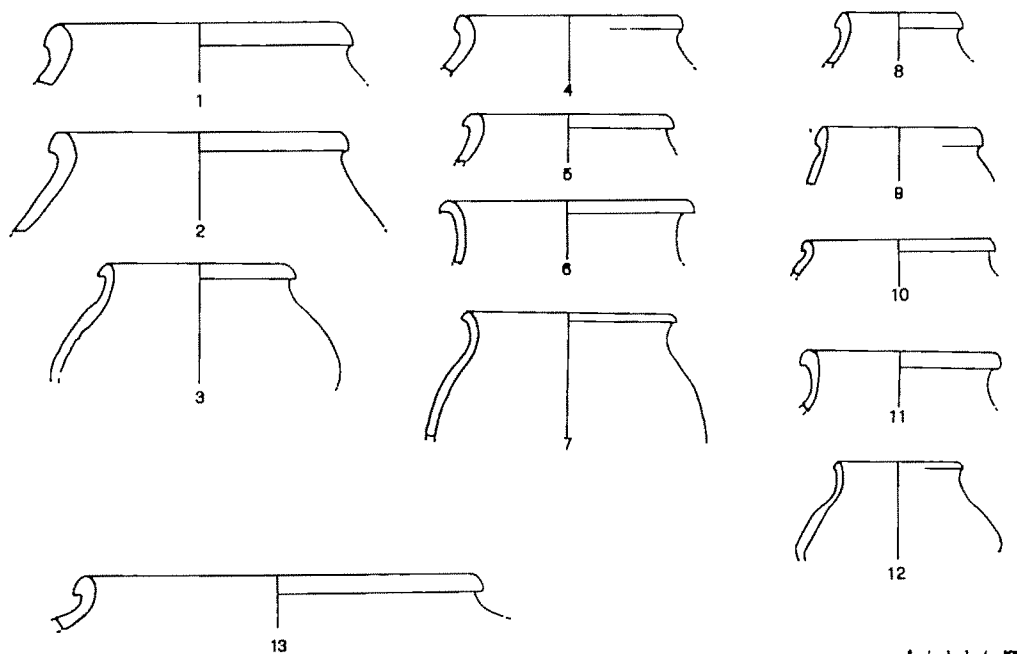


Fig. 44 - Pots or Jars. 1: 1250:1260-2870:2880; 2: 1240:1250-2860:2870; 3: 1250:1260-2820-2830; 4: 1240:1250-2840:2850; 5: 1250:1260-2840:2850; 6: Sporadic; 7: 1240:1250-2840:2850; 8: 1260:1270-2870:2880; 9: 1240:1250-2820:2830; 10: 1270:1280-2830:2840; 11: 1240:1250-2860:2870; 12: Sporadic; 13: 1270:1280-2830:2840.

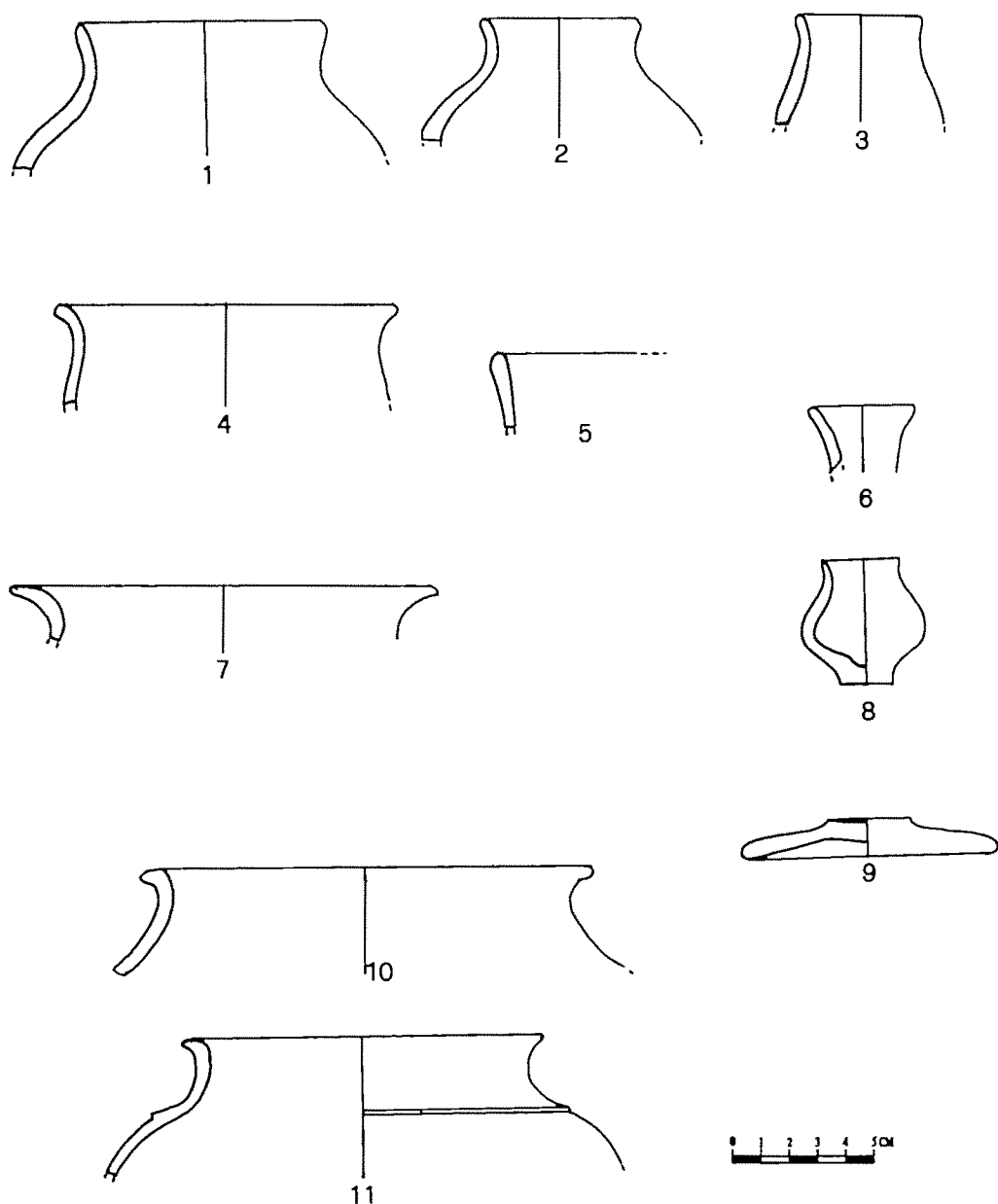


Fig. 45 - Pots or Jars. 1: Sporadic. 2: 1240:1250-2840:2850; 3: 1240:1250-2820:2830; 4: 1240:1250-2840:2850; 5: Sporadic; 6: 1240:1250-2860:2870; 7, 8, 9: 1240:1250-2850:2860; 10: 1250:1260-2820:2830; 11: 1240:1250-2840:2850 Bibliography: for no. 11 see Dales & Kenoyer 1986: fig. 28.1-10.

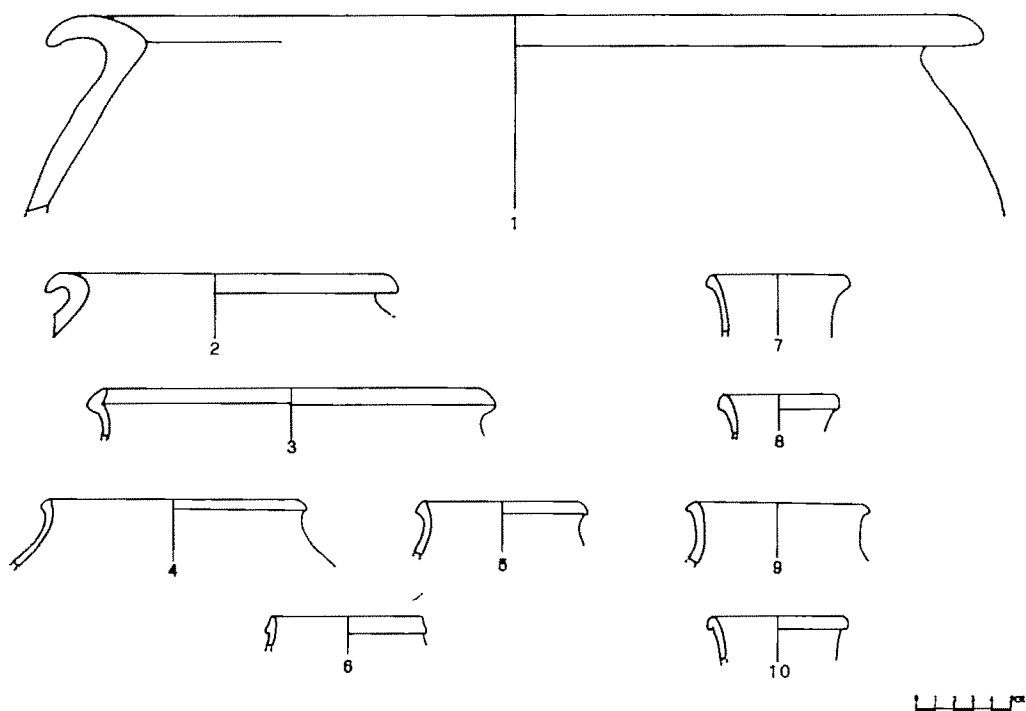


Fig. 46 - Pots or Jars. 1: 1240:1250-2840:2850; 2, 3, 4: 1250:1260-2840:2850; 5: 1250:1260-2840:2850; 6: 1270:1280-2870:2880; 7: 1260:1270-2850:2860; 8: 1250:1260-2870:2880; 9: 1260:1270-2850:2860, 10: 1260:1270-2840-2850. Bibliography: for no. 1 see Dales & Kenoyer 1986: 78, figs. 3-5.

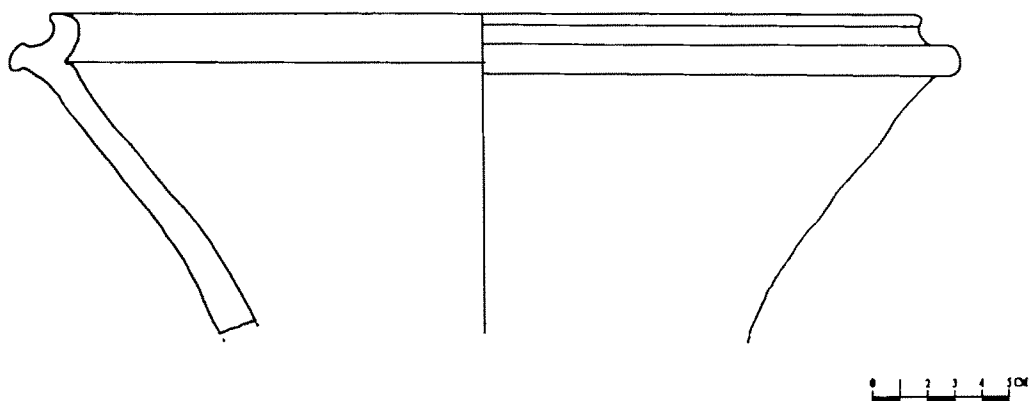


Fig. 47 - Jar. 1240:1250-2840:2850. Bibliography: Dales & Kenoyer 1986: fig. 1 2.

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Kalako-ḍeray, Swāt: 1989-1991 Excavation Report

by GIORGIO STACUL

In recent years, research and excavations have been carried out by the Italian Archaeological Mission of IsMEO in the Jāmbīl Valley, Swāt. The Mission was directed by Dr D. Faccenna and the working group was composed of the author, who directed the field work, and Mr R. Micheli, who was in charge of the draftsman and local workers ⁽¹⁾. The Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Pakistan, was represented by Mr Ahmed Aftab Khan (1989), Mr Abdul Azeem (1990) and Mr Abdul Nasim (1991). The C.N.R. (Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, Rome) contributed to the project.

Excavations were carried out at Kalako-ḍeray, a flat hill-top with steep sides overlooking the present-day village of Kukārai, about 10 km east of the town of Mingora (lat. 34°45' north; long. 72°24' east). The hill rises c. 30 m above the surrounding valley, out by the Narkat Tange a small tributary of the Jāmbīl River (Figs. 1-2). The top area measures c. 85 by 35 m and extends over a surface of about 2,000 square metres.

Years ago a large quantity of protohistoric potsherds were observed on the surface of the northern slope of the hill. An excavation was carried out in 1989 (Area AA), followed in 1990 and 1991 by two trenches on the hill-top (Areas A and B) (Fig. 3). As a result, a settled area consisting of pit structures and subsequent stone-walled rooms was located. Apart from the occupation layers dating from historical times, the study involved the protohistoric periods III, IV, VII and VIII ⁽²⁾.

Area AA

A U-shaped channel attributed to natural agencies (max. width c. 2.50 m and max. depth c. 2.20 m), was located on the northern slope of the hill. It was excavated to a length of 31 m in the SE-NW direction, up to near the point where it meets

⁽¹⁾ The drawings are by R. Micheli (Figs. 2-7, 10-12, 17, 18) and G. Almerigogna (Figs. 22, 23, 27-29); the photographs by the author. Mr Zamani and Mr Fazal Mohammad played a very important role among the local workers.

⁽²⁾ For the archaeological assemblages from periods III and IV, their chronology and bibliography, see Stacul 1987. 45-65; on periods VII and VIII, Stacul 1989. 321-26



Fig. 1 - Kalako-deray. General view of the site (Neg. Dep. R 14442/6).

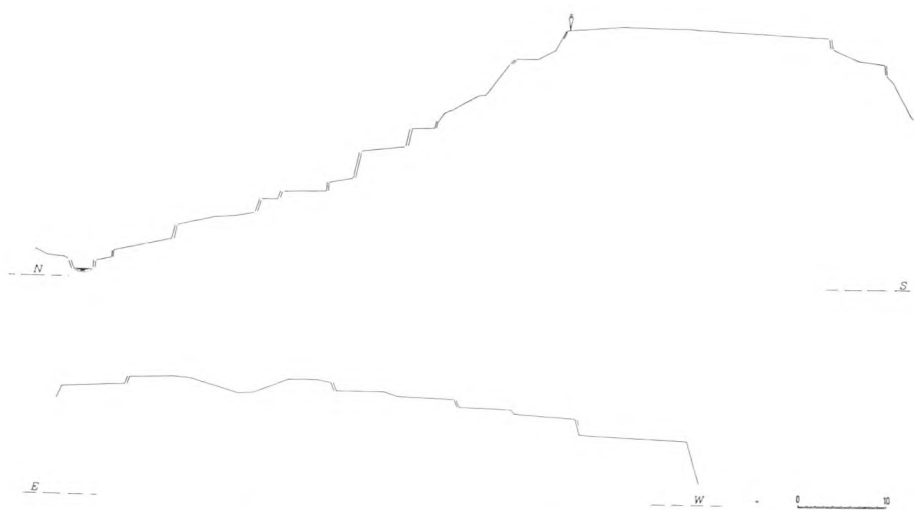


Fig. 2 - Kalako-deray. Outline of the hill.

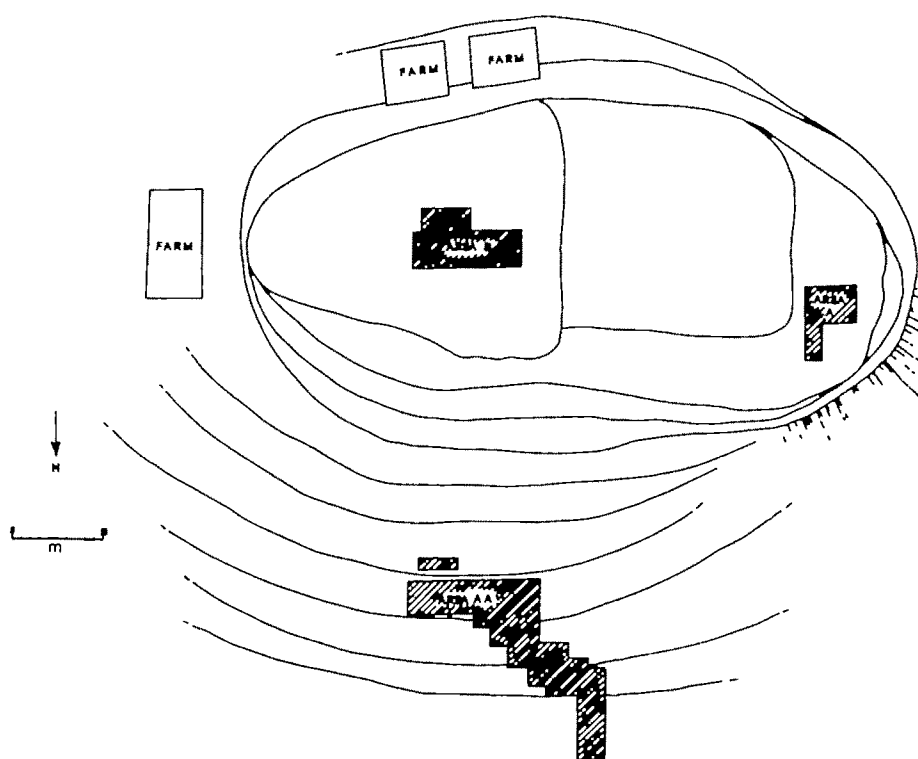


Fig 3 - Kalako-daray. Sketch map of the hill and the excavated areas

the Narkat Tange (Fig. 3). The difference in height at the lowest level was 5.20 m. No evidence of post-holes, suggesting a possible palisade structure, was observed. The infill was characterized by different layers of deposition and was very rich in archaeological finds. Apart from the pottery (Fig. 11e, h; Fig. 12a-b, d, n), the finds mostly consisted of lithic artefacts (Fig. 22a-b, d-e, g-j; Fig. 23a-c, h-i; Fig. 24) and clay or terracotta figurines (Fig. 28a-g, i-o). Microlithic-like artefacts (Fig. 27b-c), copper objects (Fig. 29a-f), a V-shaped, perforated bone button (Fig. 27f) and a terracotta seal (Fig. 12n; Fig. 16) were also recovered.

This almost complete assemblage has been ascribed to Period IV in the Ghālegay sequence, dated *c.* 18th-15th centuries B.C. (Stacul 1987: 53 ff.). Apart from a few potsherds from the upper layer, dating from early historic times, it was not possible to identify any chronological differences in the vertical deposition of the finds.

Area A

In order to locate possible residence structures in connection with the finds recovered from Area AA, a trial excavation trench was dug near the western end of the hill-top (Area A, Fig. 3). It was L-shaped in plan (8 × 7 m) and covered a surface of about 40 m² (Fig. 4). The natural soil consisted of compact clay. Close to the steep sides of the hill, the upper layers were strongly affected by erosion.

According to stratigraphical sequence, the structural features recovered may be summarized as follows:

a. Period III

A floor level consisting of occupation debris, charcoal remains and small stones, was located about 3 m below the zero point in a fairly small-sized sector. The level covered the natural soil and included part of a jar (Fig. 10a) and potsherds (Fig. 10b-d) ascribed to Period III in the Ghālegay sequence (beginning of 2nd millennium B.C.).

b. Period IV

This period is represented by four pits dug in to the natural soil (pits A1, A3, A9 and A11) (Figs. 5, 8). These cavities were subsequently covered and disturbed by pits and other structures from periods VII and VIII (see foreword). As a consequence, the pits have been only partially excavated.

Pit A1. Circular in plan, consisting of two cavities separated by a bench running all around the structure (Fig. 8). The upper cavity (diam. 1.80 m) has vertical or projecting sides (depth 0.65 m). The bench is irregular in shape (max. width 0.30 m). The lower cavity has projecting sides and a regular flat bottom (diam. 1.60 m). The total depth of the structure is 1.35-1.40 m (3.55 m below the zero point). The lower fill is grey loam containing animal bones, a few charcoal remains and a few potsherds.

Pit A3. Owing to the superimposed stone-walled structures, only a small portion of a circular (?) cavity was excavated. The fill consisted of dark earth with charcoal remains and a few potsherds.

Pit A9. Rectangular in shape (1.75 × 1.60 m), with vertical sides and a flat bottom. A large part of the cavity was cut by pits A7, A8 and A10, ascribed to subsequent periods. The fill consists of dark soil and small stones. A few potsherds lay on the bottom level.

Pit A11. Circular in plan, consisting of two cavities separated by a bench. The upper cavity (approx. diam. 2.20 m) has almost vertical sides (depth 0.50-0.55 m). A flat bench (max. width 0.28 m) surrounds the structure. The lower cavity has slightly projecting sides and a flat bottom partly paved with stone slabs (approx. diam. 1.40 m). The fill consists of a stratified deposit. The lowest layer is a dark loamy soil

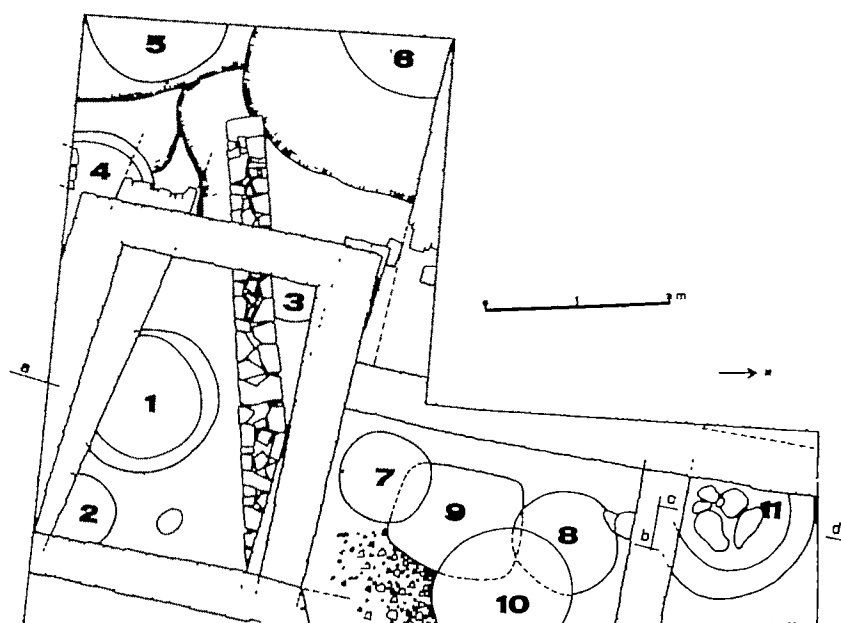


Fig. 4 - Kalako-dersay. Plan of Area A.

containing charcoal remains, potsherds and a miniature dish (Fig. 14). Part of the upper cavity above the bench was disturbed by a subsequent occupation. The fill of this upper deposit consists of loose earth, ashes, charcoal remains and a few potsherds from Period VII or VIII.

c. Periods VII and VIII

A long time-spread or chronological gap divides Period IV from the following occupation ascribed to Periods VII and VIII (c. third quarter of 1st millennium B.C.). The occupation is represented by stone-walled structures, floor-levels paved with stone slabs and pits. The cavities are rather small in size and circular/oval in plan; they are cut in to the natural soil or in to the previous occupation layers (pits A2, A4, A5, A6, A7, A8, A10) (Figs. 4-5). Owing to the superimposed structural remains, only five pits have been excavated to any great extent (pits A5, A6, A7, A8, A10). On the whole, very few potsherds and objects have been recovered from the fill of these cavities. As a consequence, in some cases the attribution of the pit to Period VII or Period VIII is problematic. Very few faunal remains were recovered.

Pit A2. Circular in plan with slightly sloping sides. The upper fill consists of loose clay, small stones and a few potsherds ascribed to Period VII or Period VIII. The lower fill has not been excavated.

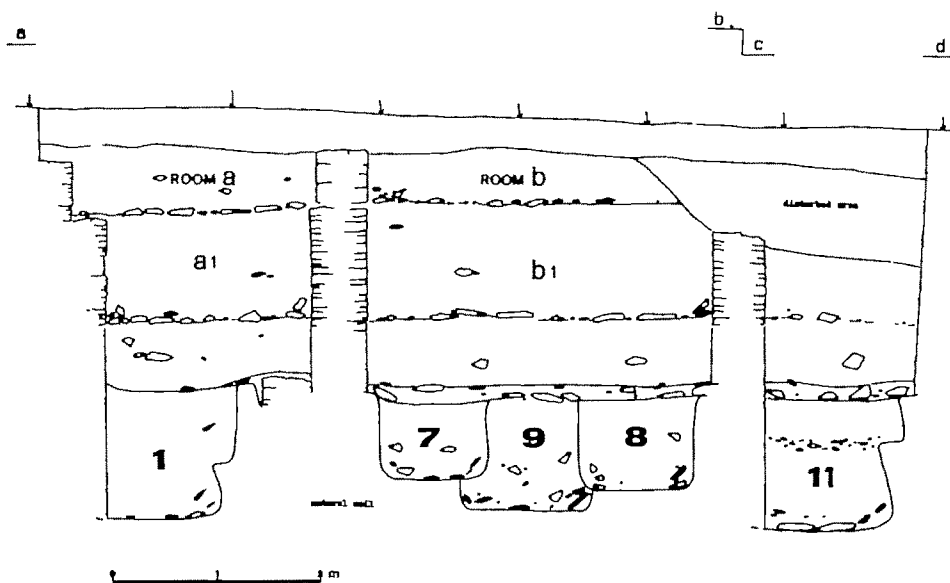


Fig. 5 - Kalako-deray. Stratigraphical section of Area A.

Pit A4. Circular or oval in plan with sloping sides. The upper fill consists of dark earth, small stones, charcoal remains and potsherds ascribed to Period VIII. The lower fill has not been excavated.

Pit A5. Circular in plan (diam. 1.60 m) with sloping sides and a convex bottom (depth 1.40 m). The infill consists of loose clay, small stones and a few animal bones. Fragments of large jars were found on the lowest level.

Pit A6. Circular or oval in plan with sloping sides. The fill consists of clay, loose earth, small stones and a few charcoal remains. The finds include a human terracotta figurine (Figs. 20, 28h), two stone, beehive-shaped spindle-whorls, fragments of an iron object and potsherds. The assemblage dates from Period VII. The lower fill has not been excavated.

Pit A7. Circular in plan (diam. 1.05 m) with almost vertical sides and a flat bottom (depth 0.95 m). The fill consists of loose grey earth, small stones and a few potsherds ascribed to Period VII or Period VIII. The cavity intersected a portion of Pit A9.

Pit A8. Circular in plan (diam. 1.20 m) with almost vertical sides and a flat bottom (depth 1.10 m). The upper fill consists of dark soil including ashes, a few charcoal remains and potsherds from Period VIII. Small and medium-sized stones were recovered from the lower fill. The cavity intersected a portion of Pit A9.

Pit A10. Circular in plan (diam. 1.60 m) with sloping sides and a convex bottom (depth 1.25 m). The fill consists of very loose earth, small stones and few potsherds dated to Period VIII. The cavity intersected a portion of Pit A8 and Pit A9.

d. Upper layers

The late occupation of the area consists of stone-walled structures made from schist slabs, including rectangular rooms such as Room a, Room b, Room a1 and Room a2 (Figs. 4-5). The walls are similar in size (average width 0.55 m) and the floor levels are mostly paved with stone slabs. Pottery and other finds recovered from the floor levels of Room a and Room b (Fig. 18e, g-i) may be ascribed to the Kushan period.

Owing to erosion and recent farming activities, a large part of the upper deposit has been disturbed.

Area B

The area lies on the top of the hill, at a distance of c. 35 m east of Area A (Fig. 3). The excavation (main axis W-E 12 m) covered a total surface of c. 60 m² (Fig. 6). The upper deposit was deeply disturbed up to 2.70 m above the zero point by work carried out by local farmers to obtain stones for building purposes. The potsherds recovered from the disturbed fill can mostly be ascribed to the Kushan period.

The natural soil consists of compact, almost impervious clay. During the excavation, rainwater formed pools that took days to drain away.

According to stratigraphical sequence (Fig. 7), the structural features and the cultural periods may be summarized as follows:

a. Period IV

Two very large pits (Pit B5 and Pit B7) cut in to the natural soil and dating from Period IV represent the earliest occupation of the area. These cavities were subsequently covered over and disturbed by various rather small pits and by stone-walled structures (see Periods VII and VIII).

Pit B5. Almost circular in plan (diam. c. 2.50 m), with slightly convex sides and a flat bottom (5.75 m below the zero point). The upper fill consists of loose grey earth and small stones and yielded two rectangular holed sickles (Fig. 22c, f; Fig. 25). The lower fill consists of thin layers of white ashes mixed with loose charcoal remains and stones. Potsherds, miniature pots (Fig. 12g, m), stone axes (Fig. 23d, e), bone artefacts (Fig. 27i, j), grinding slabs (Fig. 26) and other heavy stone artefacts were recovered mainly near the bottom level. The cavity was partly overlain by Pit B2.

Pit B7. Oval in plan (max. diam. 4.70 m) with almost vertical sides extending to a maximum preserved depth of 3.60 m (7.60 m below the zero point) (Figs. 6, 7, 9). The upper fill consists of loose grey earth and small stones. The lower one includes multiple lenses of ashes and charcoal remains. Grains of wheat and barley have been identified by Dr Costantini. A floor level paved with small schist slabs was located in the lower portion of the pit. A large quantity of pottery (Fig. 10e-g; Fig. 11a, b,

d, i, j), miniature pots (Fig. 12c, e-i, k, l; Fig. 15), bone artefacts (Fig. 27d, e, h), hammer axes (Fig. 23f, g), grinding slabs (Fig. 26) and other heavy stone artefacts were recovered from the lower fill. A fairly well preserved black-burnished bottle (Figs. 11a, 13) was found below the paved floor level, close to the bottom of the cavity. It was not possible to identify any chronological differences in the vertical deposition of the finds. The cavity was partly overlain and cut by Pit B4, Pit B8 and Pit B9.

b. Periods VII and VIII

The further occupation of the site consists of circular/oval pits (Pit B1, Pit B2, Pit B3, Pit B4, Pit B6, Pit B8, Pit B9, Pit B10), and stone-walled structures located close to the western end of the trench. Apart from large cavities such as Pit B1, Pit B2 and Pit B6, the other pits were rather small in size. On the basis of the finds recovered from Pits B2, B4 and B6, they may be ascribed to Period VII. As for the stone-walled structures from the layer above (c. 2.40-2.60 m below the zero point), the associated pottery and objects may be dated to Period VIII.

Pit B1. A shallow, circular pit (diam. 2.20 m; depth 0.80 m) with sloping sides and slightly convex bottom (Fig. 7). The fill consists of loose grey earth and stones. A few potsherds and a stone beehive-shaped spindle-whorl were recovered. Part of the cavity extends beyond the trench.

Pit B2. A shallow, oval cavity (max. diam. 3.10 m; depth 0.85 m) with irregular sloping sides and convex bottom (Fig. 7). The fill consists of dark-grey earth mixed with stones and a few charcoal remains. Four small pots lay on the bottom level (Fig. 17b, h). A fragment of an iron object was also found. The assemblage may be ascribed to Period VII. Part of the cavity extending beyond the trench was not excavated.

Pit B3. An irregular shallow, circular pit (diam. 1.50 m; depth 0.35 m) with sloping sides and a flat bottom. The fill consists of dark grey earth and small stones. Fragments of a large jar and a roughly circular stone slab with two central holes were recovered from the bottom. The pit was partly overlain by a stone-walled structure.

Pit B4. A small, oval pit (1.15 × 0.95 m; depth 0.70 m) with steep sides and a flat bottom. The fill consists of grey earth and small stones. Close to the bottom-level a small decorated bottle (Fig. 17a) and some decorated potsherds (Fig. 17e-f) were recovered. The assemblage may be dated to Period VII. The cavity overlaps the border of Pit B7.

Pit B6. A large, almost circular pit (diam. 2.70 m; depth 1.60 m), with sloping sides and an almost flat bottom. The fill consists of dark grey earth and stones. A saddle-quern lay on the bottom. The cavity overlaps a large part of Pit B7.

Pit B8. A circular cavity (diam. 2.05 m; depth 1.45 m) with steep sides and a flat bottom. The fill consists of grey earth and stones. Only a few potsherds were found.

Pit B9. A small, oval pit (1.35 by 1.20 m; depth 0.85 m) with slightly sloping sides and a flat bottom. The fill consists of loose grey earth.

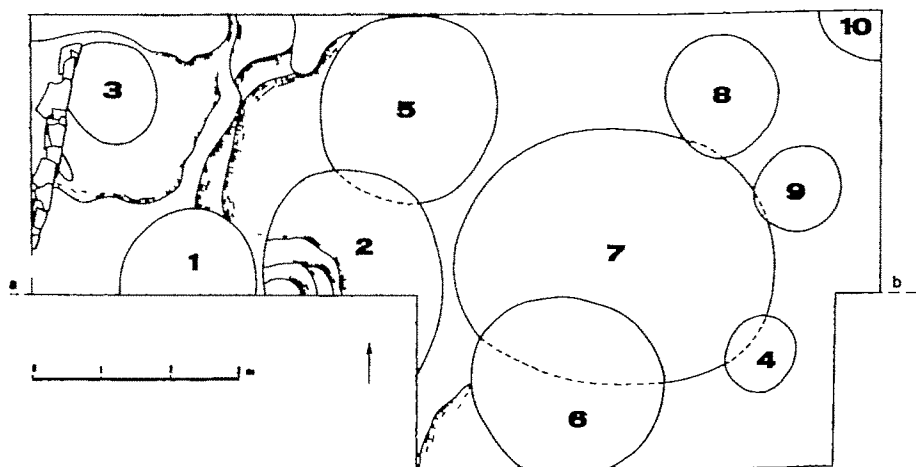


Fig. 6 - Kalako-daray. Plan of Area B.

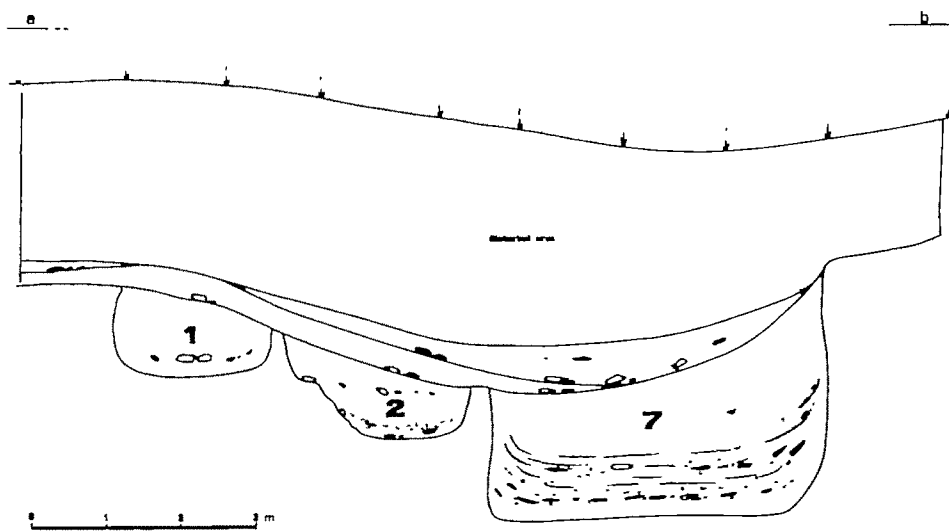


Fig. 7 - Kalako-daray. Stratigraphical section of Area B.

Pit B10. The cavity extends beyond the trench and was thus only partially excavated. The upper infill consists of loose grey earth, small stones and a few potsHERDS.

c. Upper layers

A stone-walled structure, covering one side of Pit B3, extends up to near the western border of the trench. The floor level was paved with stone slabs. The upper

occupation layers, up to about 2.50 m below the zero point, were greatly disturbed by recent work carried out by local farmers to obtain stone building materials. The pottery from this area includes decorated potsherds (Fig. 18b-c, f; Fig. 21), fragments of large jars (Fig. 17n; Fig. 18a-c), small fragments of Northern Black Polished Ware and bone arrow-heads (Fig. 27j-n).

Finds

The finds with inventory nos. KL 1 to KL 162 were recovered from Area AA; nos. KL 163 to KL 200 from Area A; nos. KL 201 to KL 304 from Area B. The specimens are filed by the Swāt Museum of Saidu Sharif, Swāt.

a. Period III

Pottery. The pottery consists of hand-made brown ware with striated external surfaces. The forms recovered include ovoid-shaped jars with flanged rims (Fig. 10b, d) and a small bowl with a low disk-base (Fig. 10c). Disk-bases of large jars with mat-impressions on the outer surface of the base were also found.

b. Period IV

Pottery. As in previous excavations at sites from the same period, the pottery was mostly made on a slow wheel and largely consists of gritty-brown and grey-burnished wares. Items such as ovoid jars (Fig. 10e, h), large storage jars (Fig. 10f), hemispherical bowls (Fig. 11f), bowls-on-stand (Fig. 11h) and bottle-like forms (Fig. 11a-c) follow the rule. A comparatively large number of hand-made miniature pots of brown ware were also recovered (Fig. 12a-l; Fig. 15). Rippled rims and mat or basket-impressions on the bases are common features of the gritty-brown ware. A fragment of a grey bowl (?) set on four legs is also included (Fig. 11e). Only a few fragments of black-on-red painted ware are included in the assemblage.

Chipped stone artefacts. Microlithic-like chipped artefacts are unusual in Swāt assemblages because of the lack of raw materials such as flint or chert. The few specimens recovered are made from crystal rock and comprise a notched piece (Fig. 27a) and two scrapers (Fig. 27b-c).

Ground stone artefacts. The ground tools are primarily represented by rectangular/oval single-holed sickles made from local light red schist, with a central perforation opposite to the cutting edge (Fig. 22a-h; Fig. 25) ⁽³⁾. A miniature specimen is perforated on the side (Fig. 22k). Axes, axe-adzes and axe-hammers are mostly made from granite or other meta-igneous rocks and are characterized by a broad

⁽³⁾ During the 1992 excavation campaign, a double-holed item was also recovered



Fig. 8 - Kalako-çeray. Area A. Pit A1 after excavation (Neg. Dep. R 17434/1).



Fig. 9 - Kalako-çeray. Area B. Pit B7 after excavation (Neg. Dep. R. 17638/3).

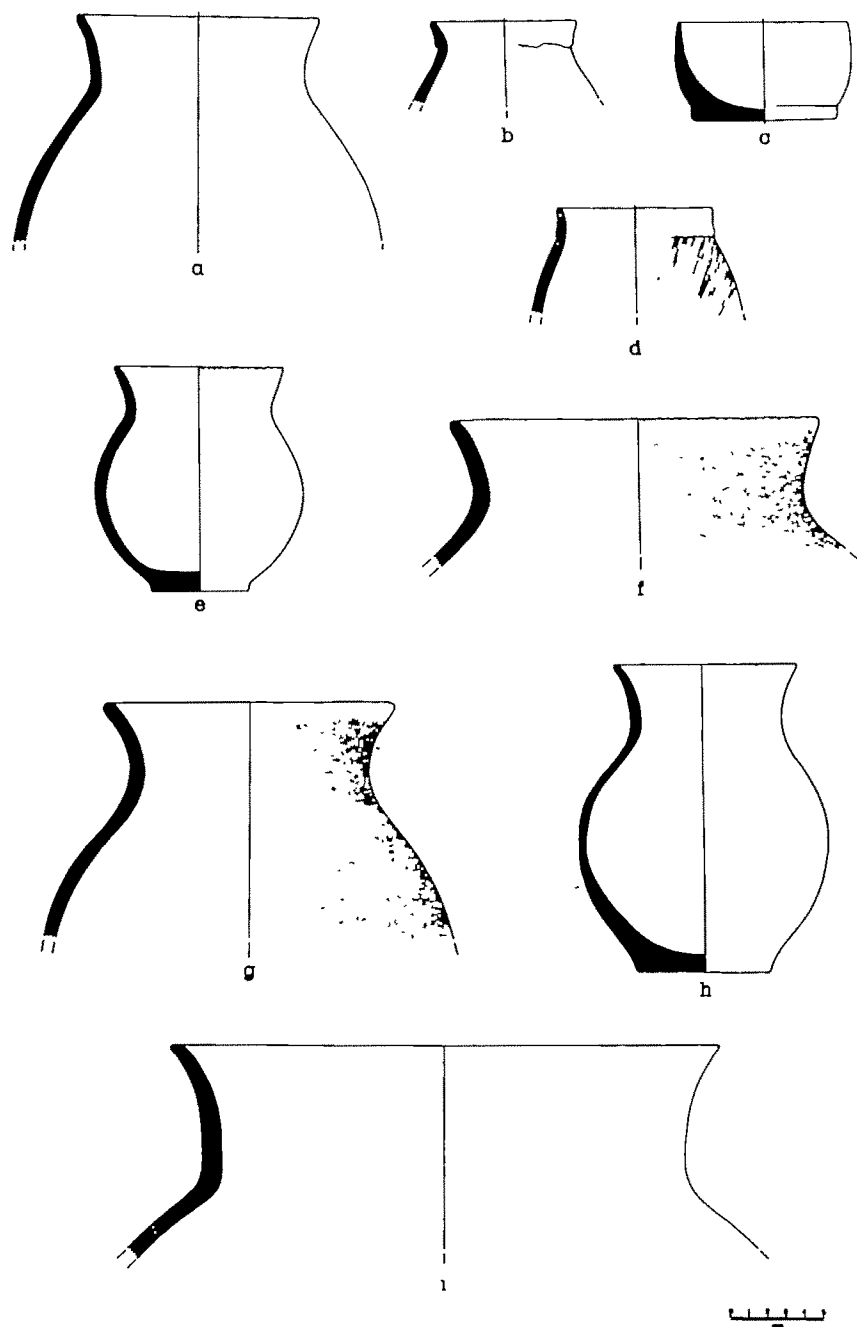


Fig. 10 - Kalako-deray. Pottery from Period III (a-d) and IV (e-i). Brown and gritty-brown ware: a-h, grey-burnished ware: i. Area A: a-d; Pit B5: h; Pit B7: e-g a: Inv. no. KL 167; e: KL 257; h: KL 228

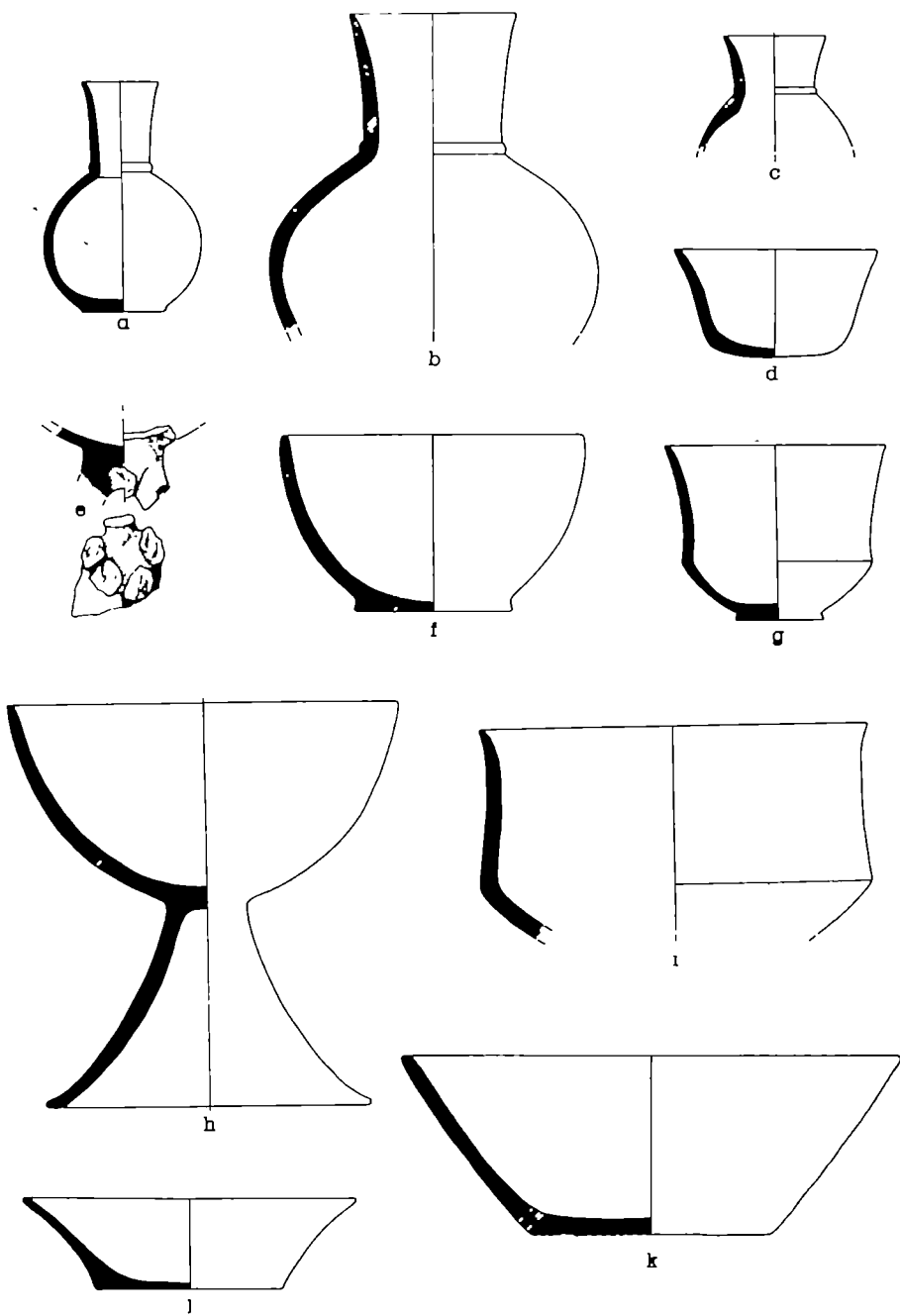


Fig. 11 - Kalako-deray. Pottery from Period IV. Black-grey burnished ware. Area AA: e, h; Pit B5: c, k; Pit B7: a-b, d, f-g, i-j. a: Inv. no. KL 256; e: KL 225; g: KL 264; h: KL 119. (a = Fig. 13).

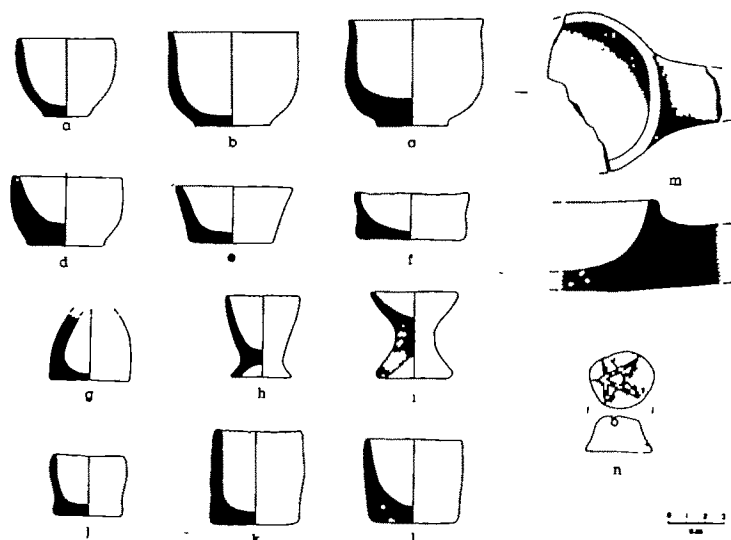


Fig. 12 - Kalako-deray. Miniature pots (a-l), spoon (m) and seal (n) from Period IV. Grey ware: a-c; brown ware: d-n. Area AA: a-b, d, n, Pit B5: j, m, Pit B7: c, e-i, k, l. Inv. no. KL 80; b: KL 15; c: KL 293; d: KL 160; f: KL 259; g: KL 261; h: KL 267; i: KL 262; j: KL 233; k: KL 258; l: KL 291; m: KL 227, n: KL 100. (n = Fig. 16).

cutting edge and a roughly symmetrical profile and cross-section (Fig. 23a-g). Axes and axe-adzes usually have a sharp cutting edge, while axe-hammers are quite similar in shape but heavily worn and not provided with a sharp edge. One axe-hammer specimen (Fig. 23e) displays a thick butt and slightly concave sides (cf. Stacul 1987: fig. 40d and pl. XXXII e-f). A flat-bodied hammer displays heavily battered ends (Fig. 23h). The hammer-grinders include cylindrical and square-shaped forms, while some grinders of triangular cross-section display one or two working faces. A sharpener with an almost cylindrical body and a deep longitudinal groove was also found.

Heavy stone artefacts. These include 3 mortars and 26 querns or grinding slabs. The querns are made from schist and have an elongated body and an almost flat or slightly concave working surface (Fig. 26). The overall average is 29 cm in length by 19 cm in width, with a trough 4.5 cm deep. Two mortars and 11 querns were recovered from Pit B7.

Bone artefacts. The specimens recovered include awls made from the distal end of tibial bones of sheep or goats and other bone fragments (Fig. 27d, g-h, l). A small, flat, irregular-oval perforated object (Fig. 27e) and a low conical button with a V-shaped perforation (Fig. 27f) are also included.

Figurines. The brown clay and terracotta figurines represent human (Fig. 28a-g), animal (Fig. 28i-m) and other subjects (Fig. 28n-o). Some human specimens display



Fig. 13 - Kalako-çeray. Black-burnished bottle from Pit B7 (Period IV). Inv. no. KL 256 (= Fig. 11a) (Neg. Dep. R 17636/5).

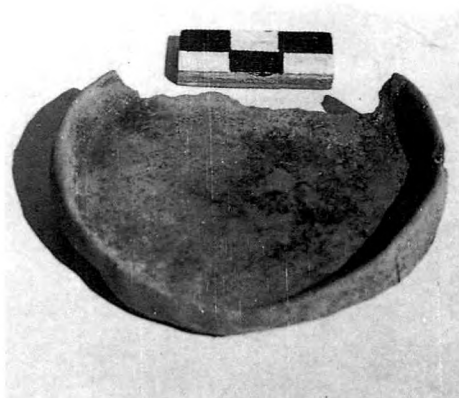


Fig. 14 - Kalako-çeray. Brown dish from Pit A11 (Period IV). Inv. no. KL 199 (Neg. Dep. R 17466/9).



Fig. 15 - Kalako-çeray. Brown miniature pots from Pit B7 (Period IV). (Neg. Dep. R 17628/7).



Fig. 16 - Kalako-çeray. Seal from Area AA (Period IV). Inv. no. KL 100 (= Fig. 12n) (Neg. Dep. R 17058/6).

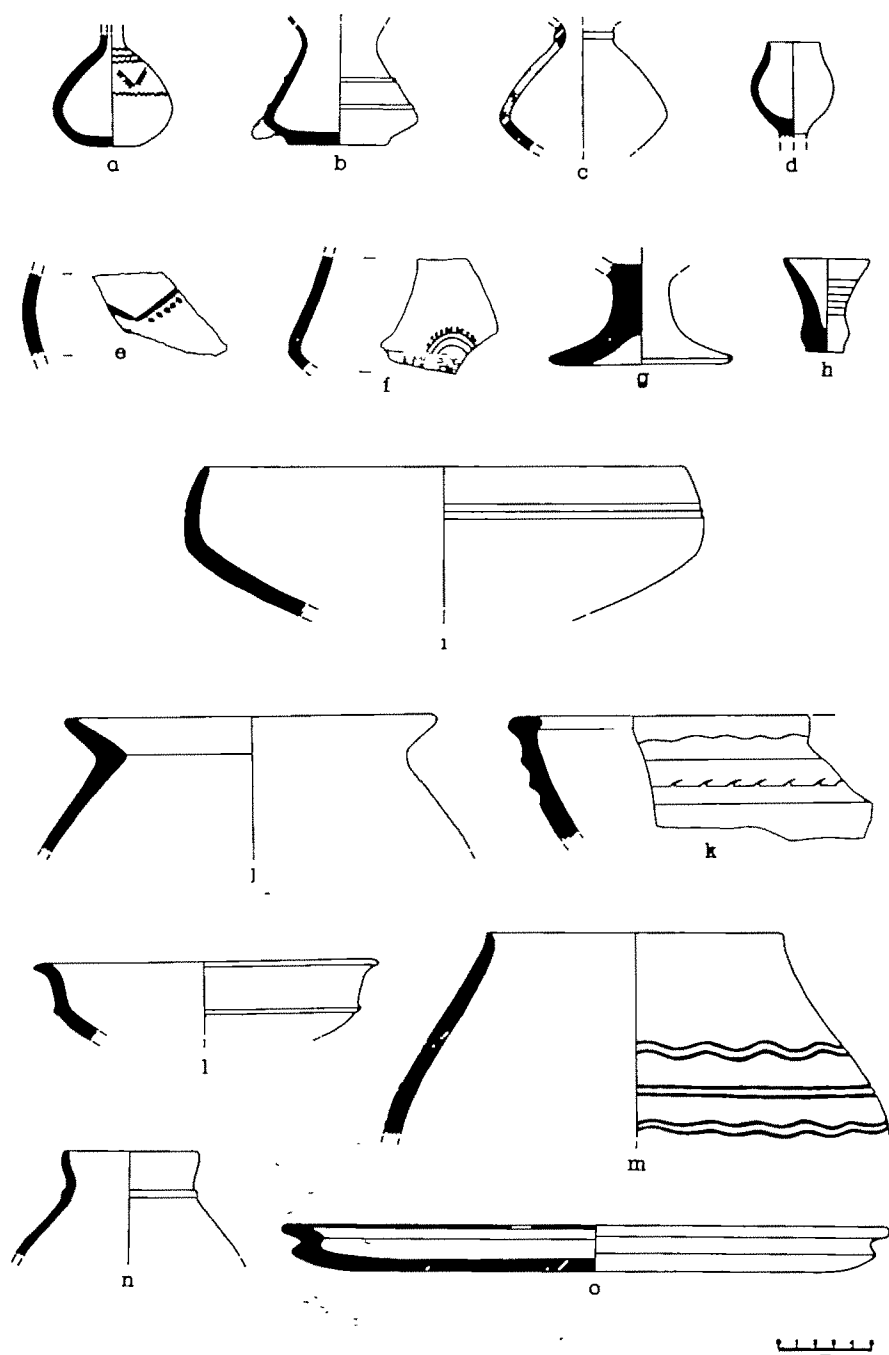


Fig 17 - Kalako-deray. Pottery from Period VII (a-i) and Period VIII (j-o). Red ware. Pit B4: a, c, e-f; Pit B2: b, h; Pit B1: d; Pit B8 i, Pit A4 l; Pit A5: j, k, Pit A8: m, o; disturbed Area B: n. a: Inv. no. KL 300 (= Fig. 19), b: KL 215; d: KL 212; h: KL 214.

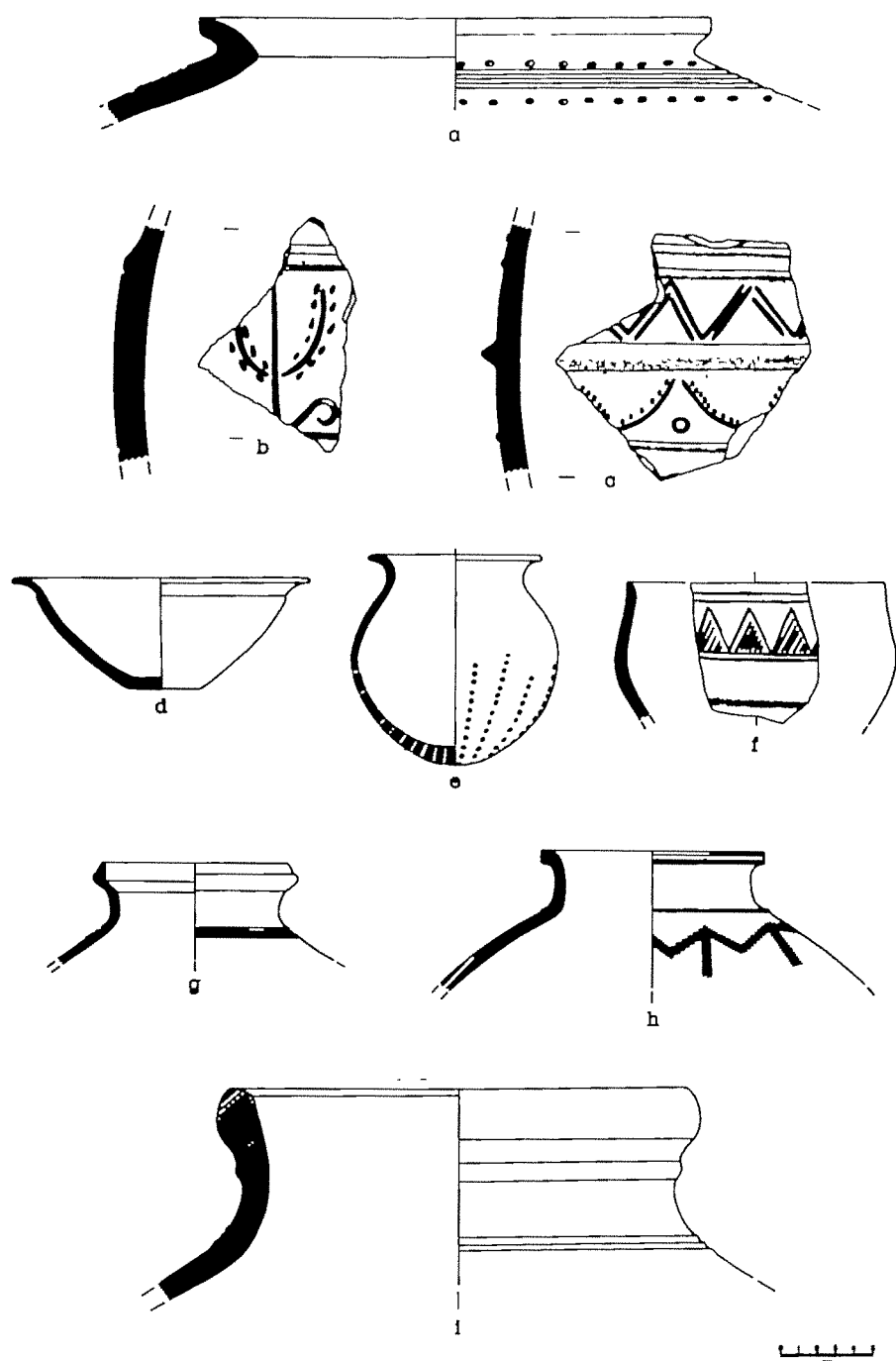


Fig. 18 - Kalako-deray. Pottery from upper layers of Area A (c, g-i) and Area B (a-d, f). Red ware Room a: g-i; Room a1: e, from disturbed Area B: a-d b Inv no KL 211, c: KL 194

a rounded body sharing anatomical details such as eyes, breast and folded arms (Fig. 28a-c); others display flat, very schematic and almost geometrical forms (Fig. 28f-g). Apart from a humped bull (Fig. 28k) and a possible sheep (Fig. 28g), the remaining animal subjects are difficult to identify. Two horned items standing on a flat base (Fig. 28n-o) are worthy of note.

Seal. A brown terracotta specimen with a circular carved face and a raised and pierced back (Figs. 12n, 16) is the first seal recovered from protohistoric Swāt. The incised pattern resembles a five-pointed star.

Metal objects. The copper weapons consist of three arrow or spear-heads with flat bodies and flat tangs (Fig. 29a-c); a small arrow-head with a flat, almost triangular body, a roughly flat tang and barbed ends (Fig. 29g) is also included. The other copper objects include two chisels of square cross-section (Fig. 29d-e) and a earring (Fig. 29f).

Miscellanea. A fragment of a large clay spoon is worthy of note (Fig. 12m). The assemblage also includes various brown terracotta spindle-whorls of biconical shape.

Vegetal and faunal remains. Seeds of wheat and barley were recovered on floor levels of Pit B7 (information kindly conveyed by Dr Costantini, who identified the items). The pits yielded comparatively few faunal remains, whose identification and study is in progress.

c. Periods VII and VIII

Pottery. The red and grey ware from Period VII was recovered mainly from small pits in Area B. The shapes include narrow-necked bottles (Figs. 17a, 19), carinated vessels (Fig. 17b-c), pedestal bowls (Fig. 17d, g) and a miniature bell-shaped pot (Fig. 17h). Several fragments of large red and grey bowls with sharply carinated bodies and incurved rims (Fig. 17i) were also recovered together with fragments of large spherical jars with short flanged rims. Large bowls with carinated bodies and globular jars with short flared rims were also found in pits and layers from Period VIII. These and other similar finds suggest a close continuity of life and tradition between periods VII and VIII. As for the incised patterns (Fig. 17a, e-f; Fig. 21), close affinities may be noted with ceramic decorative motifs from Swāt graves of periods VI and VII.

Heavy stone artefacts. Two saddle-querns, four querns with an almost flat working surface and two cylindrical hammers have been recovered from pits.

Spindle-whorls. Four beehive-shaped specimens made from green schist have been found from layers and pits of Period VII (Fig. 30a-d), while three schist items with almost convex sides and with incised decorations may be ascribed to Period VIII (Fig. 30e-g). Grey and brown biconical terracotta spindle-whorls have been recovered both from periods VII and VIII layers.

Figurine. A flat human terracotta figurine with a conical head, projecting arms and round body, decorated with impressed and incised geometrical patterns (Figs. 20, 28h).

Metal objects. Fragments of iron objects were found in pits ascribed to Period VII.



Fig. 19 - Kalako-deray. Red incised bottle from Pit B8 (Period VII). Inv. no. KL 300 (= Fig. 18a) (Neg. Dep. R 17628/11).



Fig. 20 - Kalako-deray. Brown terracotta figurine from Pit A6 (Period VII). Inv. no. KL 185 (= Fig. 28h) (Neg. Dep. R 17466/8).



Fig. 21 - Kalako-deray. Incised potsherd of red ware from Area B (disturbed layers). Inv. no. KL 211 (= Fig. 18b) (Neg. Dep. R 17635/2).

d. Upper layers

Pottery. Tops of red jars with everted grooved rims (Fig. 18g-h) and with heavy roll rims (Fig. 18i) were recovered from Room a and Room b of Area A. An ovoid-shaped colander with a flared rim (Fig. 18e) was found in Room a of the same area.

Various pottery wares and forms were recovered in the upper disturbed deposit (Fig. 17k-o; Fig. 18a-d, f), including a fragment of an incised pot representing a

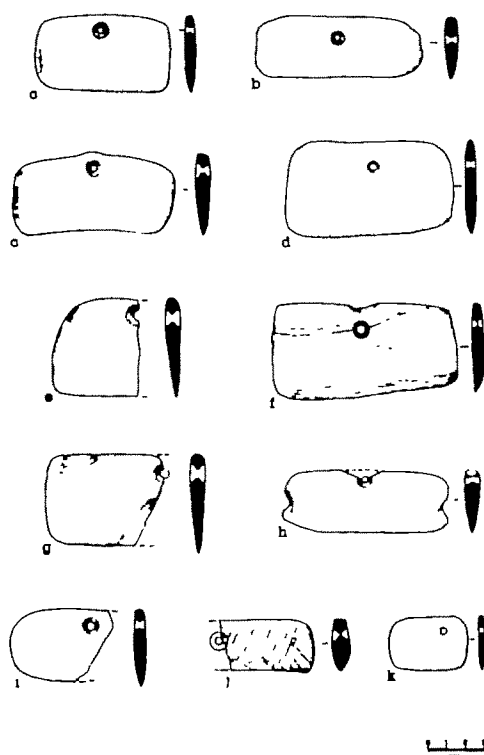


Fig. 22 - Kalako-deray. Stone artefacts from Period IV. Area AA: a-b, d-e, g-j; Pit B5: c, f; Pit B7: k. a: Inv. no. KL 59; b: KL 28; c: KL 122; d: KL 220; e: KL 93; f: KL 221; g: KL 98; h: KL 39; i: KL 103; j: KL 131; k: KL 298 (a-c = Fig. 26).

Stone-walled structures from Kushan times, mostly disturbed by recent work, have been located in the upper layers.

2. Large settlements from Period IV, consisting of semi-subterranean structures, had been previously excavated at other Swāt sites such as Loebanr 3 and Bīr-kōṭ-ghwandai (Stacul 1987: 51 ff.; Mughal 1989: 48). As for Kalako-deray, in spite of the comparatively restricted excavated area, which has been seriously disturbed by subsequent phases of occupation, some very large and well-preserved underground structures have been located. The largest is more than 4.50 m wide and 3.50 m deep. No traces of post-holes and no fragments of daub with impressions of reeds or other wooden roofing structures have been observed in or around the cavities (similar features have on the contrary been observed at Loebanr 3). Multiple lenses of ashes mixed with charcoal remains, a large quantity of pottery and several heavy stone artefacts have, however, been found in the lower fill of Pit B5 and Pit B7. Vegetal and faunal

tree (?) springing from a horn-like pattern (Fig. 18b), a fragment of jar with incised sequences of zig-zag and dotted patterns (Fig. 18c) and a potsherd showing a sequence of hatched incised triangles (Fig. 18f).

Bone objects. Polished bone arrow-heads with tangs were recovered from the disturbed deposit of Area B (Fig. 27h-n).

Metal objects. Apart from copper and iron fragments, a leaf-shaped hinge was found in the disturbed deposit of Area B (Fig. 29h).

Observations

1. Apart from the very limited occupation layer yielding pottery from Period III, the earliest structural remains are represented by circular/oval and square-shaped pits cut in to the natural soil and ascribed to Period IV in the Ghālegay sequence (c. 18th-15th centuries B.C.). A wide gap separates this period from the subsequent occupation, consisting of rather small pits from Periods VII and VIII, dating from about the third quarter of 1st millennium B.C.

remains have been also recovered. Such evidence, of course, suggests intensive occupation of the cavities.

A large quantity of pottery and other archaeological finds, including figurines and copper objects, were found in the channel located at the base of the hill (Area AA) and attributed to natural agencies. The archaeological material very probably represents the result of the erosion of the hill-top. In fact, no traces of structures or finds have been observed around the channel and no traces of possible palisades or other wooden structures have been located in its fill.

3. 26 querns or grinding slabs — 11 from Pit B7 — have been recovered at Kalako-deray, as against very few similar examples from Loebanr 3 and Bīr-kōṭ-ghwandai. The importance of agricultural activities is also shown by the presence of mortars, grinders and hammer-grinders. As for the lack of the true 'saddle-quern', such evidence is open to discussion (Kraybill 1977: 493; Roux 1985: 34-38; Allchin 1986: 58). The very

thick layer of ashes and charcoal remains from the lower fill of Pit B7, however, suggests that fire was used here for roasting the grains prior to grinding. Apart from grains found in the pit, the almost flat working surfaces of the querns support this assumption. In addition, the occurrence of 10 rectangular/oval sickles, i.e. a tool-type recovered for the first time in Pakistan (Fig. 22), deserves special attention. Their association with a lithic assemblage mostly consisting of agricultural artefacts is probably not fortuitous. In fact, in the light of ethnographic accounts and from the clues as to its possible use, this type is generally regarded as a harvesting tool (Andersson 1943: 223-27; Chang 1963: 66; Watson 1970: 21-26; Thapar 1985: 35, 37).

4. Dwelling-pits, notched and holed sickles, holed axes, jade beads, etc., from Swāt sites of Period IV, suggest links with 'Inner Asian' or 'Northern neolithic' traditions, as was remarked by W. Fairervis (1975: 316-17, 345) after the discovery of the neolithic settlement of Burzahom in Kashmir. 'Burzahom — it has been observed — represents a movement out of Central Asia toward and into the



Fig. 23 - Kalako-deray. Stone artefacts from Period IV. Area AA a-c, h-i; Pit B5: d-e; Pit B7: f-g. a: Inv. no. KL 81, b: KL 27, c: KL 92; d: KL 218; e: KL 219; f: KL 255; g: KL 297; h: KL 142; i: KL 141 (a-c = Fig. 24).



Fig. 24 - Kalako-çeray. Stone axes from Area AA (Period IV). Inv. nos. KL 27, KL 92, KL 81 (= Fig. 23a-c). (Neg. Dep. R 17040/11).



Fig. 25 - Kalako-çeray. Stone holed sickles from Pit B5 (Period IV). Inv. nos. KL 220, KL 221 (= Fig. 22d, f). (Neg. Dep. R 17636/8).

Fig. 26 - Kalako-çeray. Stone grinding slabs from Pit B5 and Pit B7 (Period IV). Inv. nos. KL 223, KL 242 (from the left). (Neg. Dep. R 17639/4).

subcontinent' (*ibid.*: 317). Such 'northern' connections have not only been attributed to long-distance trading or infiltration of peoples, but also to a self-supporting cultural area around the great mountain chain (Stacul 1987: 124).

However, the Swât archaeological assemblage from Period IV also features further cultural traits or components, such as the black-grey burnished ware and the black-

on-red painted pottery decorated with vegetal and faunal subjects. As for the metal industry, which also includes large-sized artefacts, it is the expression of a well-developed chalcolithic technological stage. Of course, these different cultural aspects reflect the great changes which took place in Central and Southern Asia from the beginning of 2nd millennium on.

5. About one millennium separates the underground structures ascribed to Period IV from the subsequent occupation phase of Periods VII/VIII. Some rather small pits from Period VII and Period VIII were very probably used for storage purposes, as suggested by fragments of large jars at the bottom of the cavities. Conversely, Pit B4 was designed to perform a different task or more than one single task, as shown by the small decorated pots and potsherds of fine-textured ware recovered here (Fig. 17a, c, e-f). The large saddle-querns from small cavities such as Pit B6 and Pit B8, suggest that these pits may have been used for milling purposes.

It has recently been pointed out that 'the presence in Period VII graves of beehive-shaped spindle-whorls and iron implements, remains suggestive of a different episode in the cultural development of the area' (Vogelsang 1988: 110). It may be added that at various Swāt sites, such as Kalako-ḍeray, Period VII represents a new occupation of the area, with no links to a previous occupation phase.

The matter may tentatively be explained in two ways: (1) Period VII represented an internal evolution from the previous Swāt Period VI; the evidence of the new occupied sites in the peripheral hilly area, including Buner (Stacul 1967), should be connected with population growth and an increase in agricultural activities. (2) Period VII represented a new culture, which promoted an integration process in the main Valley and the occupation of new sites in surrounding areas.

Globular jars with short flanged rim, carinated bowls/dishes and green schist spindle-whorls, stress the continuity of forms and the gradual evolution from Period

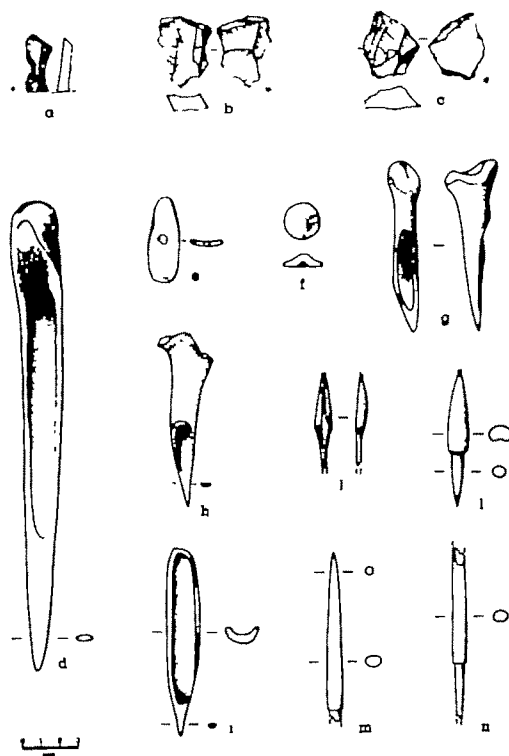


Fig. 27 - Kalako-ḍeray. Stone (a-c) and bone artefacts from Period IV (a-i) and from disturbed Area B (j-n). Area AA: b-c, f; Pit B5: a, j-i; Pit B7 d-e, h. a: Inv. no. KL 226; b: KL 137; c: KL 138, d: KL 292; f: KL 6, g: KL 135; h: KL 277; i: KL 236; j: KL 203, l: KL 202; m: KL 204; n: KL 205.

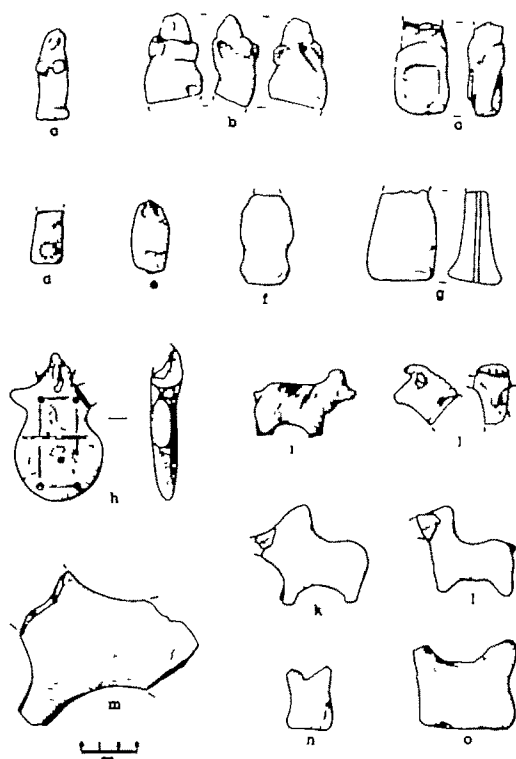


Fig. 28 - Kalako-deray. Clay and terracotta figurines from Period IV (a-g, i-o) and Period VII (h). Area AA. a-g, i-o; Pit A6: h. a. Inv. no. KL 33; b: KL 132; c: KL 133; d: KL 74; e: KL 82, f: KL 123; h: KL 185 (= Fig. 20); i: KL 75; j: KL 134; k: KL 36; l: KL 30; m: KL 129; n: KL 61; o: KL 60.

VII to Period VIII. However some typological changes during the same time-spread may be also remarked, notably: (1) Transition from the grey and reddish carinated bowls with fairly deep body to carinated dishes, sometimes with an everted rim and a sharp, distinctive carination below it (Fig. 17o). (2) Disappearance of biconical vessels and beakers. (3) Replacement of the cordoned pottery by grooved decorations and by a more machine-made ware. (4) Replacement of the green schist beehive-shaped spindle-whorls by convex-sided forms decorated with incised motifs (Fig. 30). Some of the listed changes were already observed by Sir M. Wheeler at Chārsada in layers provisionally dated from the end of 4th to 3rd century B.C. (1962: 54).

In subsequent periods the archaeological assemblage includes 'tulip' bowls, Northern Black Polished Ware, etc., while the latest occupation of the site may be ascribed to Kushan times, largely on the evidence of structural remains and finds from the uppermost layers of Area A.

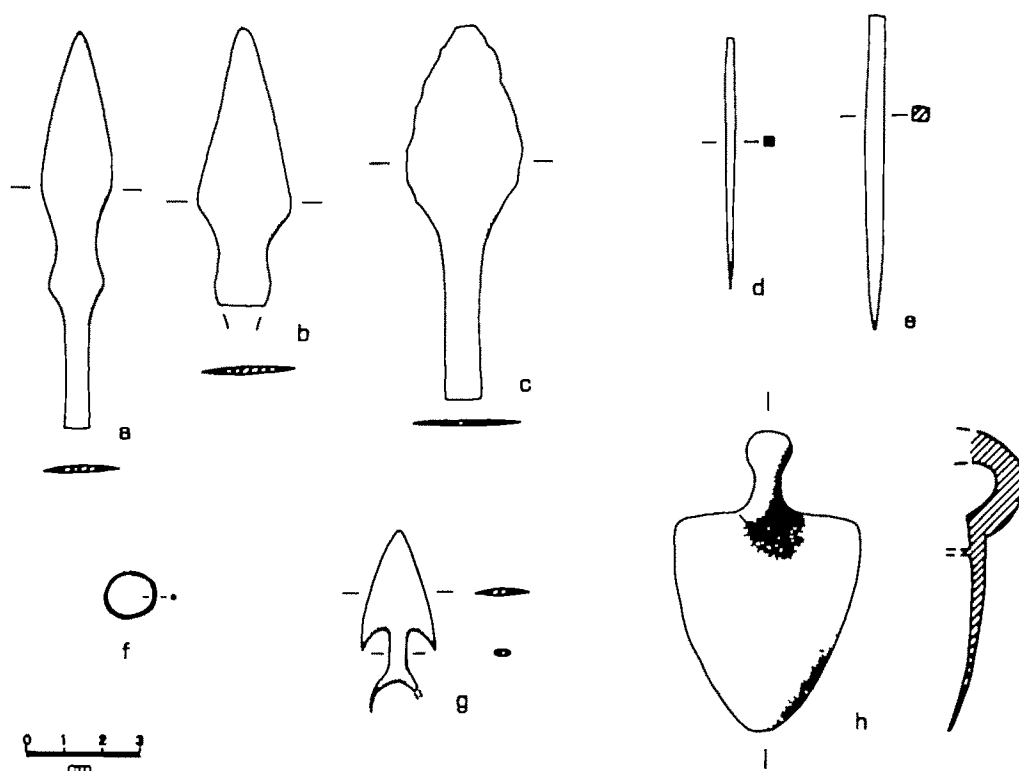


Fig 29 - Kalako-deray Copper objects from Period IV (a-g) and from disturbed Area B (h). Area AA: a-f; Pit B7: g a: Inv. no. KL 117; b: KL 90; c: KL 152; d: KL 2; e: KL 17; f: KL 118; g: KL 299; h: KL 201.

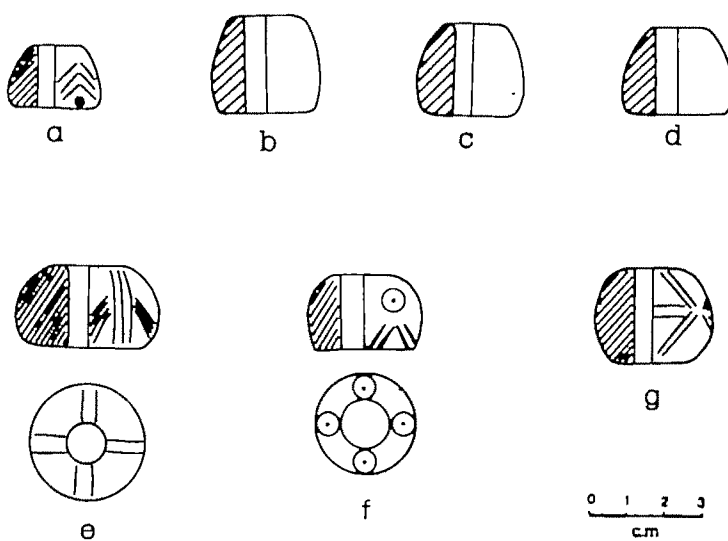


Fig 30 - Kalako-deray Green schist spindle-whorls from Period VII (a-d) and Period VIII (e-g). Area A: a, f-g; Area B: b-e. a = KL 184; b = KL 212; c = KL 304; d = KL 208; e = KL 206; f = KL 188; g = KL 174.

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A Report on the Recent Discovery of a Deposit of Coins in the Sacred Area of Butkara I (Swat, Pakistan)

by DOMENICO FACCENNA, ROBERT GOBL,
and MOHAMMAD ASHRAF KHAN

INTRODUCTION

The present article, an account of the recent discovery of a deposit of coins (forty-four in number) in the Sacred Area of Butkara I, which took place in 1991, consists of the following: 1) a note by Dr Mohammad Ashraf Khan, Curator of the Swat Archaeological Museum, Saidu Sharif, and author of the discovery; 2) a note on the identification of the coins by Prof. Dr Robert Göbl in kind response to our request in this sense; 3) a note of my own on how this discovery ties in with the history of the monument.

This important discovery was made in niche Q1 of Great Stūpa 4 (GSt.4) of Butkara I.

For a description of the monument and an outline of its history, readers are referred to Faccenna 1980-81. Information on previous finds of coins in the same site is provided by Göbl 1976, whose study is obviously continued by the note below.

I wish to express my particular thanks to Dr M. Ashraf Khan for thus enabling me to examine this material from the site where the Italian Archaeological Mission actually commenced its activities many years ago, for the opportunity to enter once again into close communion with the same stones as though the years in between had not existed ⁽¹⁾.

D.F.

⁽¹⁾ Niche Q1 was discovered in the 1956-1957 excavation campaigns; exploration of the reliquary recess took place in 1959.

1. THE DISCOVERY

During my inspection visit to Butkara I in June, 1991 I noticed that a number of sculptures had been left by the Italian Archaeological Mission *in situ* at Butkara I after the conclusion of the excavation of the site (1962).

Since then many of them have either been badly damaged by visitors or weathering effects, but a few of them are still in a good state of preservation.

Unfortunately these sculptures were being damaged by visitors touching and scratching them at a time when there were a great rush of visitors and they were beyond the control of the site attendants. Moreover, they were also subject to constant deterioration on the site due to weathering effects and this process could not be stopped even by regular treatment by the departmental Chemist. On 23 July, 1991, I proposed to the Director General of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Pakistan, to permit this office to remove the original sculptures still in good conditions on the site and replace them by replicas.

After the approval of the Director General on 17 August, 1991, a request was made to Dr Mohammad Rafique Mughal, Director Northern Circle, Lahore to entrust Mr Mazhar, Modeller, Lahore, with the removal of the sculptures.

The work of removing the sculptures was started in October, 1991 in the presence of the present Curator of Swat Museum and Mr Ali Gohar, Conservation Assistant of Swat Museum.

While removing the relief on the northern side of the Great Stūpa which represents a standing Buddha in *abhayamudrā* surrounded by attendants (Inv. no. 655), a coin slipped out from the rear wall of the niche against which the relief was leaning (Figs. 1-3, 5-7).

The coin was found near the eastern (left) side of the niche, at 0.64 m below the cornice of the *stūpa*, in a small cavity among the schist slabs of the rear wall of the niche. While examining the same spot, another forty-three of copper coins were located in the same cavity down to a depth of 0.14 m from the face of the rear wall of the niche.

It is interesting to note here that these coins were found in a cavity of the niche against which the relief was placed, but not in the square reliquary recess, which normally lies in the core of the *stūpa* below or above its cornice. Therefore, it is probable that these coins were offered by worshippers to the *stūpa* after an earthquake (?) that struck the ancient Uḍḍiyāna (Swat Valley) in the late 4th century A.D., during repairs to the relief after the great destruction.

M.A.K.



Fig. 1 - Butkara I. Great Stūpa 4, N part with the niche Q1 in the centre. (Dep. CS Neg. no. 4928/14; D. Faccenna; 1967; see Faccenna 1980-81: pl. 69).



Fig. 2 - Butkara I. Great Stūpa 4, Q1 and the relief Inv. no. 655 *in situ*. (Dep. CS Neg. no. 26/38; D. Faccenna; 1958; see Faccenna 1980-81: pl. 79a).



Fig. 3 - Butkara I. Great Stūpa 4, Q1, after the removal of the relief Inv. no. 655. The rear wall of the niche can be seen. Adjacent to the left side of the niche is the site of the coin deposit, marked with an asterisk. (Dep. CS Neg. no. 17683/19a; D. Faccenna; 1992).



Fig. 4 - Butkara I. Great Stūpa 4, Q1, rear wall: a small side slab of the lower compartment of the reliquary recess has been removed, visible below. (Dep. CS Neg. no. 17688/11a; D. Faccenna; 1992).



Fig. 5 - Butkara I. Relief Inv. no. 655, removed; front side. (Dep. CS Neg. no. 17688/20a; D. Faccenna; 1992).

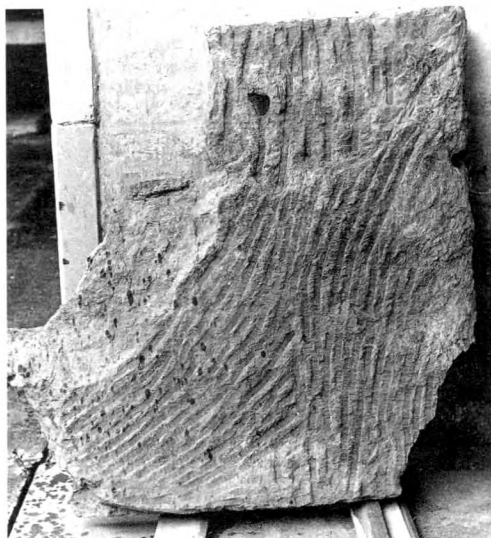


Fig. 6 - Butkara I. The relief Inv. no. 655, removed; reverse side. (Dep. CS Neg. no. 17688/13a; D. Faccenna; 1992).



Fig. 7 - The same as in Fig. 5; detail showing the Buddha in *abhaya mudra*, standing on a lotus-shaped pedestal. (Dep. CS Neg. no. 17688/22a; D. Faccenna; 1992).

2. THE COINS

Catalogue (Figs. 8-10) ⁽²⁾

KUŠĀN KINGS

VIMA KADPHISES (c. second half of the 2nd century A.D.-230 A.D.)

Obv. BACIAEYC BACIAEΩN CΩTHP MEΓAC OOHMO KAΔΦICHC

King sacrificing l. on altar; to l. trident — battleaxe; to r. club and tamga.

Rev. Kh. legend: *Maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga isvarasa mahisvarasa Vima Kathphisasa tradata.*

Śiva, with long trident, standing front before his bull.

282. 2Δ; 278; 8530; 3.60; 17.9; 11; S.764.

KANIŠKA I (232-260 A.D.)

Obv. BACIAEYC BACIAEΩN KANHPKOY

King, with spear in l. hand, sacrificing l. on altar.

Rev. NANAIA (l. upwards).

Goddess Nanaia standing r.

Tamga of Kaniška (r.).

283. 4Δ; 279; 8531; 8.50; 24.3; 12; S.767.

⁽²⁾ Remarks on the Catalogue and abbreviations. The sequence of the data runs as follows: list number, following that in Göbl 1976; denomination; list number of the Italian Archaeological Mission; Inventory number of Butkara I excavation, Italian Archaeological Mission; weight, in grammes, maximum diameter, in millimetres; die position, expressed in hours; reference to Göbl 1984.

Æ = aes, copper, bronze

Kh = Kharoṣṭhī

Obv. = obverse

Rev. = reverse

l. = left, to the left

r. = right, to the right

4Δ = tetradrachm

2Δ = didrachm

Coins in figs. 8-10 are reproduced 1:1

The coins are housed in the Swat Archaeological Museum, Saidu Sharif. The cleaning of the coins was carried out by Mr Akhtar Manir and the photographs were taken by Mr Mauro Nascari. The negatives, which are the property of the IsMEO, are contained in the archives of the Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale in Rome

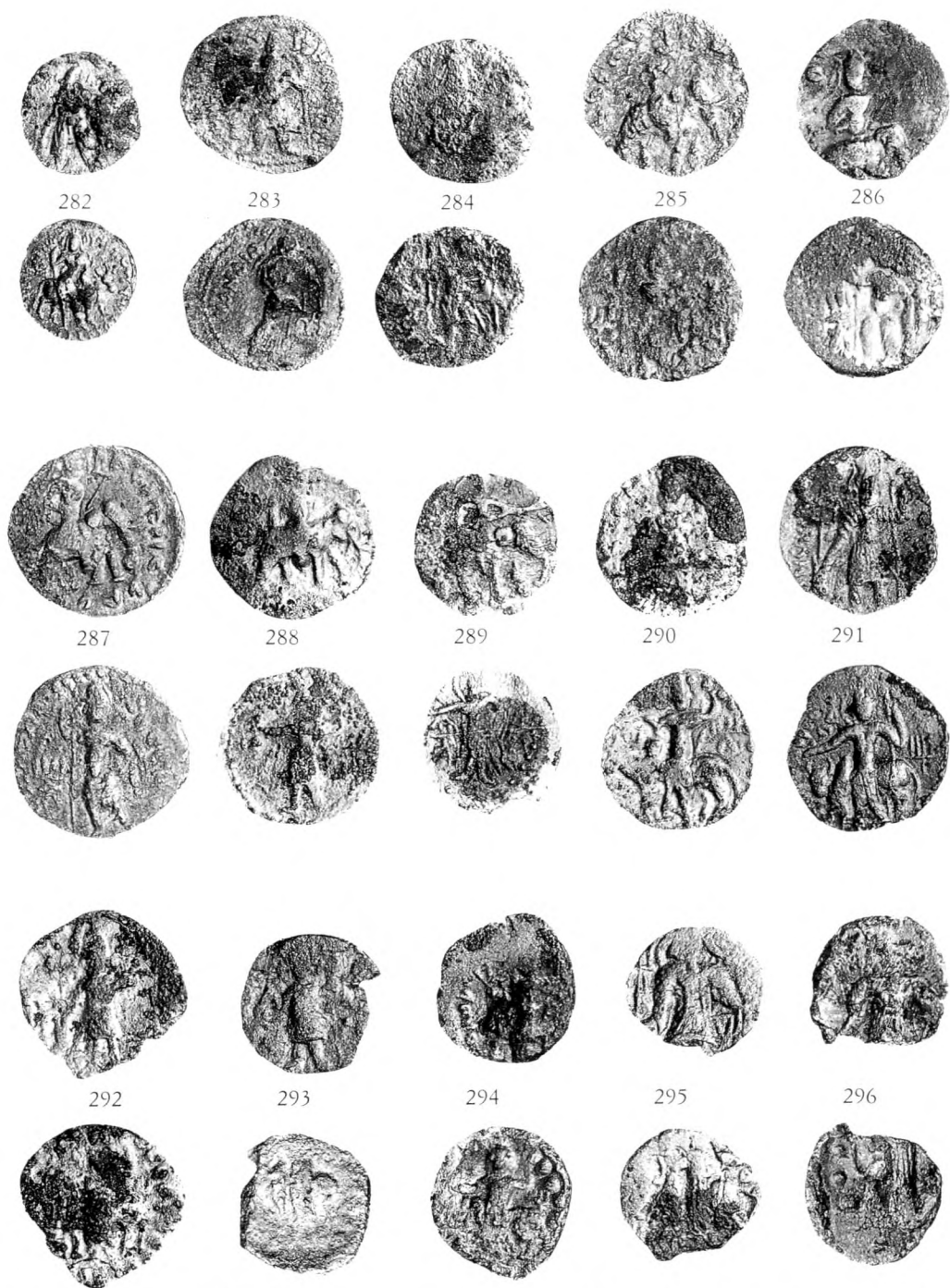


Fig. 8 - Butkara I. Q1; the coins of the deposit; Göbl list nos. 282-296. (Dep. CS Neg. nos. 17684-17686; M. Nascari, 1992).

HUVIŠKA (260-292 A.D.)

The following tetradrachms, originally intended to follow the Attic standard, are barely reduced in weight. They come from different mints and issues; nos. 284 and 289 are perhaps later, and in any way local imitations. They share all the widely spread obverse type King on elephant r. The reverses are given — if not clearly legible — according to their supposed types.

Rev. Male lunar deity standing r. (type Mao/2).

284. 4Δ; 319; 8571; 5.77; 23.8; 12; S.835.

Rev. ΟΗΡΟ (r. downwards) (type Oēšo/2).

Śiva, two-armed, with long trident, standing l.

285. 4Δ; 281; 8533; 10.55; 24.6; 11; S.855.

286. 4Δ; 283; 8535; 9.05; 23.0; 12; S.855.

287. 4Δ; 280; 8532; 8.45; 25.5; 11; S.855.

Rev. ΦΑΡΟ (r. downwards) (type Pharro/12).

Male deity (Pharro, god of fire), nimbate, to l., with purse in outstretched r. hand and long sceptre in l.

288. 4Δ; 282; 8534; 10.65; 23.8; 11; S.864.

Rev. Male lunar deity standing l. (type Mao/6).

289. 4Δ; 284; 8536; 8.40; 21.5; 2; S.916.

VĀSUDEVA I (293-*c.* 350 A.D.)

The main change with reference my work of 1984 consists in the fact that the king formerly named as Vāsudeva II is now recognised also as identical with Vāsudeva I, cf. Göbl 1993. All typological questions remain unchanged. Since most of the coins are usually comparatively worn, it is still difficult or impossible in the most cases to distinguish between Vāsudeva I original types and their various imitations. The reverse is as usual Śiva and bull standing l. More recent information can be taken from Göbl 1984 according to the indicated series-numbers. The obverse follows the pattern of the gold coins, the normal legend being ΠΑΟΝΑΝΟΠΑΟ ΒΑΖΟΔΗΟ ΚΟΠΑΝΟ, but is mostly blundered, often partly out of flan, sometimes also — as mostly on the later imitations — not really given at all.

290. 4Δ; 286; 8538; 9.41; 24.3; 11; S.1000.

291. 4Δ; 285; 8537; 8.59; 24.4; 11; S.1001.

292. 4Δ; 287; 8539; 8.78; 24.6; 11; S.1002.

293. 4Δ; 292; 8544; 8.20; 21.5; 11; S.1004?

294. 4Δ; 288; 8540; 8.19; 22.6; 11; S.1004.

295. 4Δ; 296; 8548; 5.88; 20.7; 12; S.1008.

296. 4Δ; 290; 8542; 6.43; 21.2; 11; S.1009.

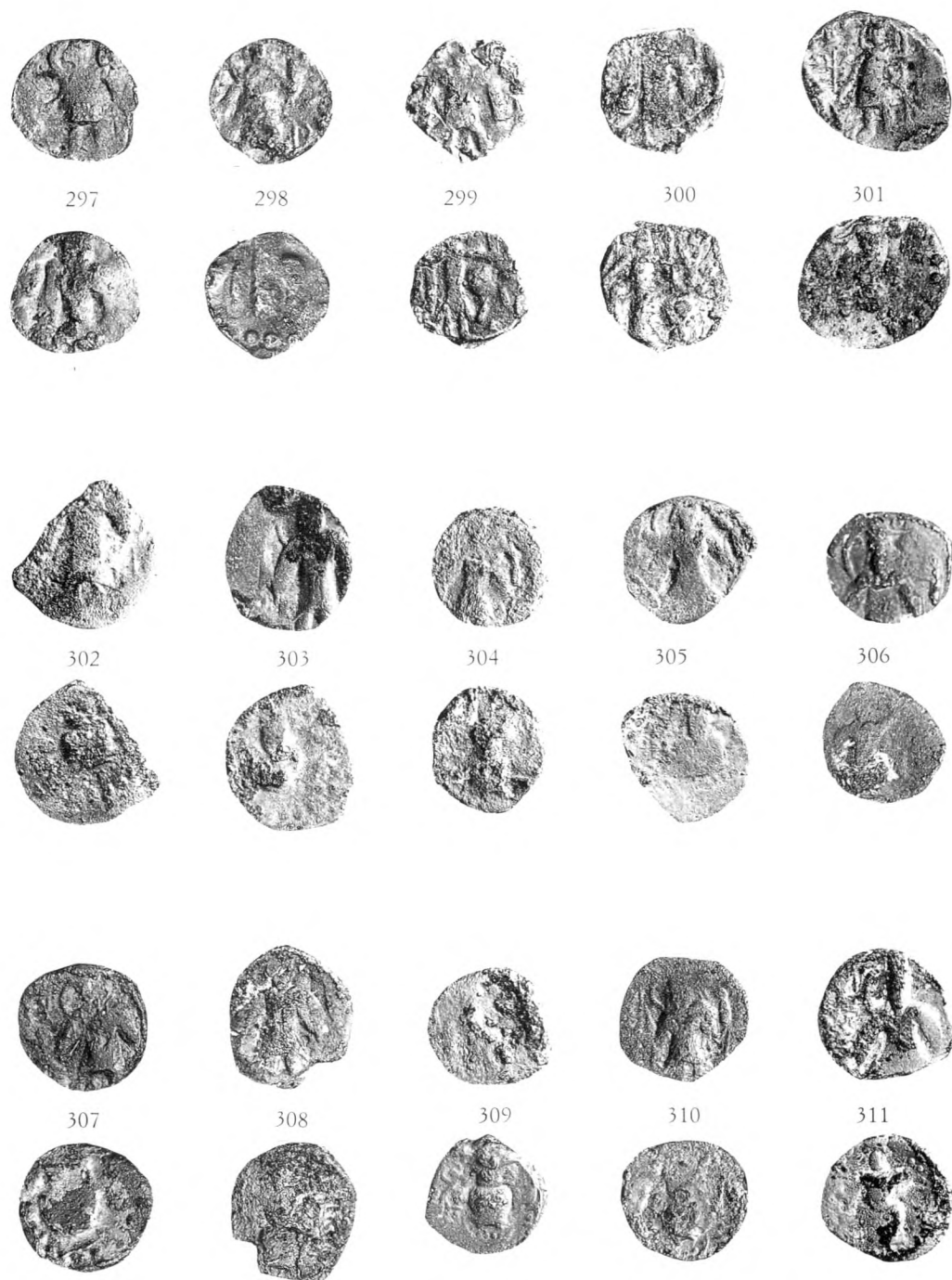


Fig. 9 - Butkara I. Q1; the coins of the deposit; Göbl list nos. 297-311. (Dep. CS Neg. no. 17684-17686; M. Nascari; 1992).

297. 4Δ; 295; 8547; 5.38; 18.8; 11; S.1010.
 298. 4Δ; 289; 8541; 5.27; 18.5; 11; S.1010.
 299. 4Δ; 318; 8570; 4.97; 18.9; 2; S.1010.
 300. 4Δ; 293; 8545; 4.85; 19.6; 11; S.1010.

KANIŠKA II (c. 332- c. 350 A.D.)

The obverse follows the pattern of the Vāsudeva I coins, the legend follows that of Kaniška's II gold coins, the normal legend being **PAONANOPAO KANHPKO KOPANO**; all circumstances and difficulties correspond fully to that of the Vāsudeva I typology.

The reverse type is Ardoxšo enthroned to front and remains unchanged.

301. 4Δ; 294; 8546; 8.79; 23.4; 11; S.1016.
 302. 4Δ; 308; 8560; 6.12; 22.3; 12; S.1016?

KANIŠKA II, successors and concurrents

The whole typology follows that given for Kaniška II, but the following coins cannot yet be divided with certainty and may, for example, also contain that which will later perhaps be attributed to Vāsiška.

303. 4Δ; 309; 8561; 8.22; 21.7; 12; S.1017.
 304. 4Δ; 317; 8569; 7.52; 18.7; 11; S.1017.
 305. 4Δ; 310; 8562; 7.47; 20.4; 12; S.1017.
 306. 4Δ; 297; 8549; 7.47; 19.4; 10; S.1017.
 307. 4Δ; 300; 8552; 7.32; 20.75; 11; S.1017.
 308. 4Δ; 298; 8550; 7.30; 21.5; 11; S.1017.
 309. 4Δ; 314; 8566; 7.30; 19.0; 10; S.1017.
 310. 4Δ; 305; 8557; 7.28; 20.4; 11; S.1017;
 311. 4Δ; 315; 8567; 7.17; 20.8; 11; S.1017.
 312. 4Δ; 301; 8553; 7.13; 19.4; 12; S.1017.
 313. 4Δ; 299; 8551; 7.03; 21.2; 11; S.1017.
 314. 4Δ; 306; 8558; 7.03; 20.2; 12; S.1017.
 315. 4Δ; 313; 8565; 6.77; 21.2; 11; S.1017.
 316. 4Δ; 316; 8568; 6.62; 19.5; 11; S.1017.
 317. 4Δ; 311; 8563; 6.48; 21.6; 11; S.1017.
 318. 4Δ; 303; 8555; 6.47; 19.7; 11; S.1017.
 319. 4Δ; 291; 8543; 6.29; 20.5; 11; S.1017.
 320. 4Δ; 312; 8564; 6.18; 22.4; 11; S.1017.
 321. 4Δ; 304; 8556; 5.91; 21.0; 11; S.1017.
 322. 4Δ; 302; 8554; 5.06; 19.05; 11; S.1017.
 323. 4Δ; 307; 8559; 8.42; 24.0; 12; S.1017B.

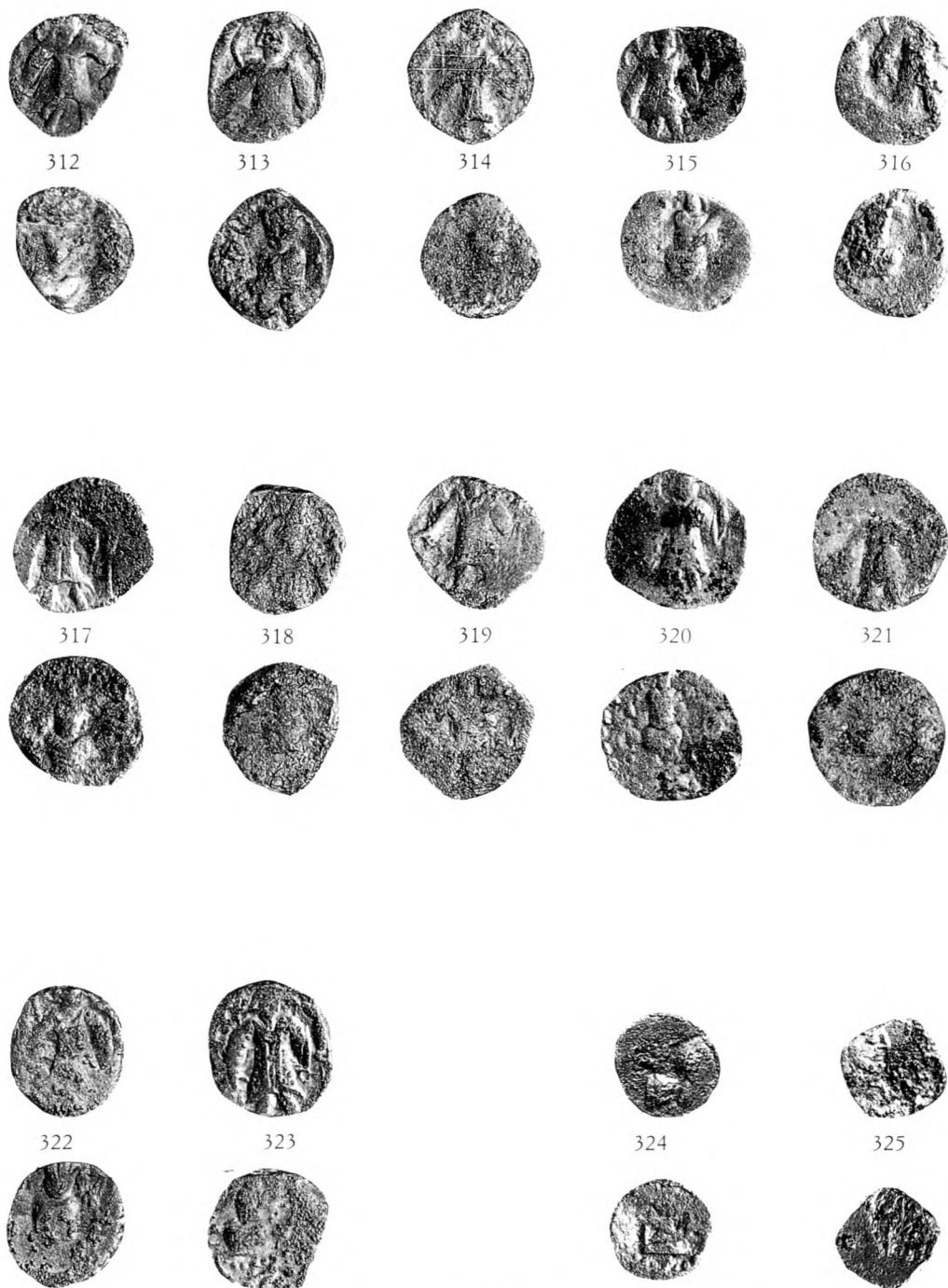


Fig. 10 - Butkara I. Q1; the coins of the deposit; Göbl list nos. 312-325. (Dep. CS Neg. nos. 17684-17686; M. Nascari; 1992).

KUŠĀNO-SĀSĀNIAN GOVERNORS

KAVĀD 1 (Governor under Šābuhr II and subordinated to the Governor Ohrmazd 1; issues later than 356/360 A.D.).

Obv. Bust of Kavād (normal legend r. upwards KOBOO) in lion's skin r.
Rev. Fire altar.

324. Æ; 320; 8572; 3.25; 16.3; 9; S.1122 or S.1124.

325. Æ; 321; 8573; 2.98; 16.0; ?; S.1122 or S.1124.

Commentary

According to the history of the find it was a votive deposit. As we can infer from the survey of the forty-four pieces they were taken out, perhaps immediately, from the contemporaneous coin circulation. It seems a characteristic fact that the single coin of Vima Kadphises at the beginning of the series is a didrachm, his tetradrachms having just disappeared from the local mint-circulation. Further evidence for this assumption is the fact that also Kaniška's I single coin is a didrachm, not a tetradrachm, and that Huviška's tetradrachms are either poor ones, i.e. in the most cases debased types or later local imitations of well-known features, fitting well into the general picture given by the coins from Vāsudeva I onwards, which are as usual not only badly preserved but just in bad technical mint state.

This statement given by the coins themselves must in any case reflect the poorness not only of the donor(s), but generally of the locality at this time.

As usual the Šiva- and the Ardoxšo types are mixed in the coin circulation, showing thus that the propaganda intentions of the coins at this time, expressed mainly by the gold-coinage, had no real bearing on the money market, at least in the low level of poor copper coinage.

Perhaps the most interesting fact remains the presence of the two Kušāno-Sāsānian copper coins of Kavād 1, and there we meet again only very ill-made coins as if to give an impressive sample for Gresham's law. The two pieces nos. 324 and 325 give us on the other side, as it seems, a good chronological landmark, since no coin of the real Vāsudeva II (formerly Vāsudeva III) has been found in the deposit, a type which often proves to have been overstruck on such Kavād 1 types: the well-known successful reaction of the Late Kušāns against the Kušāno-Sāsānians cannot yet have taken place.

The supposed date of the deposit therefore has a *terminus post quem* of about 356/360 A.D.

R.G.

3. THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

The removal of the relief in Q1 of GSt.4 and the subsequent discovery of the deposit of coins provide new elements serving to clarify some structural aspects of the monument and to pinpoint some phases in its history.

GSt.4

The Great Stūpa constituting the planimetric, architectonic and spiritual centre of the Sacred Area of Butkara I underwent various rebuildings during its long existence (3rd century B.C. to 10th century A.D.; Fig. 1) (Faccenna 1980-81: 77 ff., figs. 31-42, pls. (3) X-XIV, XVIII, (4) XXXII-XXXVII, 69-125, 128-163, 169-209). There were five in all, in each of which the new edifice incorporated the previous one to mark a new period with various phases of its own.

In the fourth rebuilding, the one that concerns us here — GSt.4 = Period 4, Phase 1 — the monument consisted of its circular-plan 1st storey, the only one preserved, with an ashlar facing of soap-stone blocks. In the wall, delimited by base and cornice mouldings, were set sixteen niches containing large figured panels of green schist showing scenes from the Buddha's life. Around it ran an ambulatory elevated above the surrounding floor F3, paved with slabs of schist.

The building's history was marked by a number of episodes defined in Phases 2-6 — restoration work on its structures; raising of floor levels; the construction of entrances on the main axes of the ambulatory which was then encircled by monuments rising gradually all around its perimeter; layers of painted plaster coatings — before finally terminating in Phase 7.

The Niches. Niche Q1 and the Relief Inv. no. 655. Phase 4

The niches set into the wall (Faccenna 1980-81: 82 ff.) — the first of the series being Q1 to the north — measure as follows: depth 0.03-0.08; height corresponding roughly to the height of the *stūpa* wall (h. 0.98) between the base (h. 0.28; composed of plinth, torus and cavetto) and the cornice; variable width (0.69-1.63) and variable distances between them. The rear wall of the niche is composed of small and medium-sized schist slabs of various thicknesses laid in a fairly precise texture together with a few pebbles and is connected with the core of the *stūpa* itself. Reliefs of evidently reused material were placed in the niches against the rear wall. Directly behind the rear wall of each niche is a small reliquary recess, built into the core and hence

contemporaneous with the construction (Faccenna 1980-81: 84 ff.) ⁽³⁾. The position of the recess varies. With respect to the width of the niche, it may be located on or off the medial axis. With respect to the cornice, it may be at the same level or lower. Distance with respect to the wall-surface ranges from a minimum of 0.26 to a maximum of 0.50, measured from the centre of the recess. The recesses consist of a single compartment or of two compartments one on top of the other, sealed by schist slabs serving as a lid, with walls of small vertical slabs or, in the upper compartment, of small horizontal slabs laid one above the other.

Our interest is here focused on niche Q1, which retained the inserted relief Inv. no. 655 of reused material (Fig. 2) ⁽⁴⁾.

The niche does not occupy the entire height of the wall, the top being separated from the cornice of the *stūpa* by a row of blocks (h. 0.08), but reaches down to the base. Before the removal of the relief, the bottom of the niche and the lower part of the relief were not visible as they were covered by the plaster coating of the base. Their connection with the latter was therefore not determined.

The relief also bore considerable signs of restoration. The left part was slightly detached from the wall. The lost right-hand portion had been replaced with small-sized and clearly reused blocks of soap-stone together with chips of schist and then covered over with the second layer of painted plaster coating. Some damaged figures were remoulded in plaster in the lower part, as was the head of the Buddha. This restoration work was assigned to Phase 4 on the basis of the connections between the plaster coatings and the floor levels.

A great deal of other work was also carried out on the monument in this phase. A number of entrances to the ambulatory were closed off, as was the ambulatory itself by the erection of monuments on its outer boundary. The first plaster coat was applied on the facing of this enclosure wall together with the plaster floor 1 in the ambulatory and the second plaster coat on the wall of the *stūpa*, whose surface was painted with an undulating festoon and open lotus flowers. The other niches and their reliefs were also damaged and repaired in various ways. The entire complex thus took on a new and characteristic aspect, with a single entrance. This was accompanied by a general planimetric transformation of the site with an entrance to the Sacred Area from the south.

Phase 4 thus marks an important period in the life not only of the Great *Stūpa* but also of the Sacred Area as a whole.

⁽³⁾ For this perimetral arrangement of the reliquary recesses, see Faccenna 1980-81: 90, fn. 2, see also Fussman 1987: 14.

⁽⁴⁾ For a complete description of niche Q1 and of the relief, Faccenna 1980-81: (3) 680, pls. 69-71a, 74a, 79, 80; colour pls. Gb, Hb, fig. (1) 32, section.

The Structure of Niche Q1

The removal of the relief made visible certain aspects of the structure of the niche.

The rear wall of the niche, against which the relief rested, is set back 0.05-0.06 with respect to the wall of the *stūpa* (Fig. 3). Its upper part displays a roughly laid band (h. approx. 0.40) of small and medium-sized slabs, some rough-hewn, to be attributed to the filling of the core after our exploration of the reliquary recess. Along the left side of the niche, the small slabs are missing to a width of approx. 0.10, having been partly removed in order to examine the deposit of coins. The wall is preserved in the remaining area and consists of small slabs and chips of various thicknesses, closely laid in a regular pattern, together with some larger slabs of greater height. Greater care appears to have been used in arranging the slabs here than in the other niches.

In the wall, a slab of sc. (l. 0.36, th. 0.02) stands out by virtue of its precise cut and smooth surfaces. It is located 0.76 below the cornice, 0.20 above the *stūpa* base, 0.36 from the left side of the niche and 0.42 from its right side.

The right and left sides of the niche are also visible, together with the inner faces of the small blocks of soap-stone belonging to the *stūpa* wall, in which the niche is set. In the lower part the blocks are seen to be set back slightly laterally with respect to the topmost courses. The inner faces of the blocks of the sides are not all regularly cut, some being irregular and rough-hewn.

In the lower part of the niche, now free of plaster coating, it may be seen that the cavetto of the base was partially removed up to the level of the lower fillet separating it from the torus to a height of 0.05 (total h. of cavetto including fillet: 0.08) (Faccenna 1980-81: fig. 32). The cavetto consists of three rows of small schist slabs, the uppermost with a vertical edge and the lower two with slanting edges, their respective heights in centimetres being 1.8, 1.8 and 1.3. Short stretches of these remain to the right (l. 0.11 of the second row; l. 0.46 of the third) and a highly corroded central stretch of the three rows (l. approx. 0.60), projecting 0.07 from the rear wall, broken on the front and on the sides.

The relief rested on these residual slabs of the cavetto. The measurements of the niche are as follows: w. 1.14, h. 0.91 from the level of the second row of the slabs of the cavetto, h. 0.95 from the level of the fillet of the cavetto.

Examination of the sides and base of the niche together with the relief reveals elements giving rise to various hypotheses concerning the building of the niche, the insertion of the relief, and the adaptation of one to the other, both in the original phase and during restoration. It is not possible to account completely for the partial removal of the cavetto, which was not exploited for the insertion of the relief. Neither can we rule out a change of plan during the original phase, bearing in mind the greater height of the niche obtained by removing the cavetto and the greater width probably obtained by cutting the lateral blocks. This would give us an initial niche, possibly housing a narrower relief of greater height, and a second niche constructed for the present relief, of greater width but less height.

The Reliquary Recess of Niche Q1

Re-examination of the reliquary recess was prompted by the presence of the regularly cut slab inserted into the texture of the rear wall of the niche (Fig. 4). The work proceeded from the facing, no longer being hindered by the obstacles that had made the previous exploration, proceeding from above, so difficult and delicate. Some small slabs were carefully removed from the wall, followed by the small side slab of the lower compartment (Fig. 4, below). The reliquary recess is of the double type ⁽⁵⁾. The already uncovered upper compartment, composed of small horizontal slabs laid one above the other (0.25 × 0.25 × 0.23 in depth), is separated by a rebate of interlocking slabs from the lower compartment, composed of small vertical slabs of schist arranged swastika fashion (internal measurements of the compartment: 0.115 × 0.115 × 0.12 in depth; slab 0.21 in length, 0.025 in thickness) and resting on the slab of schist noted also in the wall.

In type and dimensions, the reliquary recess resembles others found in the same *stūpa* (Faccenna 1980-81: 86 f.; Q5, Q6, Q14). The lower compartment, partially filled with infiltrated earth, was devoid of objects or coins. The upper compartment was full of earth with a few very small formless sherds.

The Relief in Niche Q1 (Inv. no. 655)

After detachment and the removal of the plaster covering its lower part, the sides and rear face of the relief became visible (Figs. 5-7). Much of the right-hand half is missing. The Buddha is depicted in *abhaya mudrā* standing on a lotus-shaped pedestal. At the sides are three rows of worshipping figures, dressed in *paridhāna*, *uttariya* and turban ⁽⁶⁾. Its measurements are as follows: max. preserved width 0.95; h. 0.90 in the middle, 0.91 to the left; th. 0.04-0.09 in the middle. There is a hole for a nail. The cornice, preserved in the upper left-hand corner, is broad (0.13) and moulded with a smooth band between fillets ⁽⁷⁾. In the lower part, it now consists of a fillet reduced in height by cutting, slanting chisel marks being visible on the lower face. The fillet becomes narrower as it runs from right to left (h. on the right 0.035; on

⁽⁵⁾ Thus entailing the correction of its previous description as single type (Faccenna 1980-81. 84, fn 2, pl. 75a and b).

⁽⁶⁾ For description and comparisons of the scene, readers are referred to Taddei in Faccenna 1962: 54 f., colour pl CCIV. At present the figuration shows great deterioration. The plaster remoulding carried out in ancient times on the lower part of the figures to the right of the Buddha is also lost, the worn surface of the clothing and the feet that prompted the repair work now being visible.

⁽⁷⁾ Proceeding from the inside, the cornice consists of double fillet, smooth band, double fillet, half-round and fillet.

the left 0.025). It is chipped, badly worn, and missing at the two sides. While the profile and original height of the lower side of the cornice cannot be determined, there are clear signs of work carried out to reduce the height of the relief so that it would fit into the niche.

The reverse side is highly significant. The right-hand edge (i.e. the left when the relief is observed from the front) has a socket 0.26 from the top measuring $0.04 \times 0.04 \times 0.04$ in depth. A hole for a nail is visible in the upper part. Both this and the socket belong to the original phase of the relief. The whole of the rear surface is marked by broad bands of chiselling running in different directions: vertical in the upper portion, where the surface dips sharply; curving in opposite directions on the left and right; and again vertical in the remaining triangle below. The surface is missing on the left. As the marks of chiselling appear to continue beyond the boundary of this chipped area, the work may be regarded as prior to the damaging of the relief indicated by the missing part. It was probably carried out when fitting the relief into the niche. The relief, which must originally have been thicker, had to be reduced by irregular cutting and the surface then levelled by chiselling. The bottom was also cut at the same time.

Nothing is known of the provenance or figurative context of the original relief: width estimated at c. 1.15 on the basis of the axis of the Buddha, regarded as the central element of the scene; of considerable thickness; attached to the wall with cramps and nails.

The Deposit of Coins and the Chronological Evidence They Provide

The group of coins discovered obviously has no connection with the original reliquary recess (Figs. 3, 8-10) ⁽⁸⁾. Their location — adjacent to the side of the niche, among the small slabs of the rear wall, immediately behind the relief slab — and the lack of a container clearly show the nature of the deposit, which must have been made in simple, even hasty fashion subsequent to the original construction. It can be attributed with some certainty to the restoration of the niche and relocation of the panel after damaging. When replacing the panel, which had fallen and broken, this act of reconsecration was carried out in very simple fashion by inserting the coins at the most accessible point, i.e. the space between the side of the niche and its rear wall.

The coins provide a hitherto lacking chronological element with respect to the event causing damage to the monument and followed by restoration work, the latest coin constituting the *terminus post quem*.

⁽⁸⁾ For the various types of coin deposits and their relationship both with the monument and with the stratigraphical context, see Allchin 1968, Fussman 1986, Fussman 1987, MacDowall 1987, Erdosy 1990, MacDowall 1990, Errington & Cribb 1992: 172 ff. For the reliquaries, see also Dobbins 1989.

Chronological examination of the history of GSt.4 on the basis of the coins and of other data furnished by the excavation (?) has made it possible to assign the construction of GSt.4 to a period (Phase 1) corresponding to the coins of Huviška and of Huviška types. The subsequent Phase 2 is associated with the coins of Vāsudeva I and his successors. As regards Phases 3 and 4, evidence for the latter is provided by the Kidārite King 'G' coin (Göbl 1976: no. 259). The subsequent Phases 5 and 6 precede the general collapse of the monument (Phase 7), marked by the coin of Xusrō II.

The discovery of the new deposit not only bears out the previously proposed chronology of Phase 4 but also gives a clearer picture of the timing of this phase and hence also of Phase 3.

The Kidārite coin (end of the 4th century) comes from the relic casket (Inv. no. 5283) of *stūpa* no. 186 (Faccenna 1980-81: (2) 530 ff.). As the latter was built during Phase 4, this phase must therefore have run from the end of the 4th to the 5th century. The last Kushano-Sasanian coin (Göbl, present article: nos. 324, 325) contained in the new deposit establishes the date of the beginning of the phase (end of the 4th century).

This moment must have followed fairly quickly upon the end of Phase 3 (beginning and duration of Phase 3: second half of the 4th century; end of the phase: probably the end of the 4th century), which was marked by a violent event certainly brought about by natural forces: an earthquake (?) which wrought widespread havoc, destroying some monuments and undermining others (Faccenna 1980-81: (1) 109 ff., (3) 635) ⁽¹⁰⁾.

As a final point, it should also be noted that Kushano-Sasanian coins had already been found in the Sacred Area of Butkara I (Göbl 1976: nos. 247-255). Some of these come from the ambulatory of GSt.4 together with Kushan coins, thus mirroring the composition of the deposit added in Q1. This prompts reconsideration of their collocation (Faccenna 1980-81: 118 f.). They come from layer ④ of collapsed material, from the earlier layers ⑤, ⑤a and ⑤b, or from above the plaster floor of the ambulatory, corresponding to GSt. 4, Phase 6 (Faccenna 1980-81: 84, fn. 2). The places in which some of them were found are particularly interesting:

— in front of the niche: Q3 (Göbl 1976: no. 237, Vāsudeva and successors), Q5 (Göbl 1976: no. 168, Huviška), Q8 (Göbl 1976: no. 171, Huviška), Q10-Q11-Q12 (Göbl

(?) Faccenna 1980-81. 115 ff. (particularly 117 f.), 169 ff., tabs. II, III, pl. VI; for the chronological problems, see *ibid.*: 115, fn. 1. Allchin's hypothesis regarding the deposit in niche Q13, which he viewed as added, has proved correct but for the present niche Q1 rather than for Q13, the niche it was actually suggested for; see Allchin 1968: 26 and my own note, Faccenna 1980-81: 117, fn. 4. It can even be stated that the type of added deposit found in Q1 bears out our view of Q13 as an original deposit. See also Errington & Cribb 1992: 172 and fn. 8.

⁽¹⁰⁾ The complexity of this subject calls for great caution accompanied by an interdisciplinary approach. Readers are referred, also for observations on methodology in archéo-seismology, to Guidobaldi 1989.

1976: no. 224, Vāsudeva and successors: no. 280, unidentified);
 — at the base of the niche: Q12 (Göbl 1976: nos. 220, 222, Vāsudeva I and successors; nos. 251, 252, Kavād); these from a single group with the other coins found alongside: Göbl 1976: no. 243, Vāsudeva I and successors and no. 248, Kavād;
 — among the small sc. slabs of the rear wall of the niche: Q4 (Göbl 1976: no. 48, Azes II), Q9 (Göbl 1976: nos. 160, 163, 166, Kaniṣka I; nos. 202, 206, Vāsudeva I and successors);
 — in niche Q1 two coins were found among the heads of the worshippers in the relief (Göbl 1976: nos. 207, Vāsudeva and successors, and no. 275, unidentified); another two coins were found above the cornice of the *stūpa* among the blocks of what was probably a series of brackets (Göbl 1976: nos. 205, 208, Vāsudeva I and successors).

Some of these coins cannot come from reliquary recesses of GSt.4 as the latter are preserved intact (Q1, Q5, Q8, Q9 and Q10) ⁽¹¹⁾. Both they and the other coins must therefore come from elsewhere. The recent discovery will serve to bear out some previously advanced hypotheses and to shed more light on others. The coins found among the small and medium-sized slabs of the rear walls of Q4 and Q9 thus probably belong to those niches, having been placed there during restoration, like the deposit in Q1. This may also hold for those found at the base of Q12. The composition of the coins also corresponds (Kaniṣka, Huviṣka, Vāsudeva I and successors, Kavād; a coin of Azes II being added in this case). The coins found in Q1 among the heads of the figures in the relief and on the cornice of the *stūpa* must instead have come from above. In this case, provenance can more reasonably be assigned to possible peripheral niches present also in the upper storey of the *stūpa*, as in the 1st storey, the coins having been placed in their rear walls during restoration. These points on the upper and lower storeys of the *stūpa* may also be the source of the coins found near the niches whose original reliquary recesses have been found intact (Q5, Q8, Q10, Q11; Huviṣka) or partially preserved (Q11, Q3; Vāsudeva I and successors).

D.F.

⁽¹¹⁾ Moreover, some of the coins date from after the construction of GSt.4.

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The Avyākatāni and the Catuṣkoṭi Form in the Pāli Sutta Piṭaka, 2

by ANTONIO RIGOPOULOS

Catuṣkoṭi and Formal Logic

In this third part, we will be concerned with a critical examination of the history of the interpretation of the *catuṣkoṭi* in Western scholarship. For obvious reasons, we will confine ourselves only to the main issues.

In 1917, Louis de La Vallée Poussin, in his work *The Way of Nirvāṇa*, defined the four logical alternatives of early Buddhism as 'a four branched dilemma'. He was puzzled by the *catuṣkoṭi* form and believed it violates the law of non-contradiction. He wrote:

Indians do not make a clear distinction between facts and ideas, between ideas and words; they have never clearly recognized the principle of contradiction. Buddhist dialectic has a four branched dilemma: Nirvāṇa is existence, or non-existence, or both existence and non-existence, or neither existence nor non-existence. We are helpless. ⁽¹⁾

For Poussin, in other words, the *catuṣkoṭi* mirrors the intrinsic irrationality of the Indian mind, which fails to recognize the foundations of logical thought. He presupposed that: 1) the four-fold set of statements is a four-branched dilemma and, 2) that the third utterance (*Nirvāṇa* is both existence and non-existence) is a clear case of violation of the principle of contradiction (or non-contradiction).

We disagree. The Buddha rejected ('*mā b'evam*' does not say so), not denied, the four positions. He was not caught up in any logical dilemma. As F.J. Hoffmann aptly says: 'The point is not that none of the four positions is logically free from difficulty and hence that one is in a philosophical dilemma, for that would be to deny each of the four positions' ⁽²⁾. Moreover, although in the *Pāli Nikāyas* no formal logical principle of contradiction is stated, we maintain that the third question should not

⁽¹⁾ L. de La Vallée Poussin, *The Way of Nirvāṇa*, Cambridge 1917, p. 111.

⁽²⁾ F.J. Hoffmann, 'Rationality in Early Buddhist Four Fold Logic', *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, 10, 1982, p. 320

be interpreted as violating it. This latter functions implicitly as a linguistic pattern in conventional discourse. Without it, the art of meaningful conversation, which the Buddha (on the *samvṛti satya* level) obviously recognized, would be impossible. We will further develop this point later on.

In 1926, T.W. Rhys Davids, in an article on Buddhist logic, defined the four-fold form as a scheme of laws of thought. In so doing, she followed B.M. Barua, who, in 1921, had suggested the same thesis ⁽³⁾. She wrote:

The import of a number of terms is set out, usually in dichotomic division but sometimes in the distinctively Indian method of presenting the by-us so called Laws of Thought. Thus, is A B and, if not, is A not B? If not, is A both B and not B? If not, is A neither B nor not B (in other words is A a chimera)? ⁽⁴⁾

Mrs. Rhys Davids viewed the rejection of the second and third alternatives as an assertion, respectively, of the law of contradiction and of the law of the excluded-middle. However, the definition of the *avyākātāni* in the *catuṣkoṭi* form as laws of thought is a clear mistake. In the *Pāli* Canon no concern for formal logic is traceable. This does not entail that the various utterances are *tout-court* illogical or irrational. Simply, they are not meant to be a structure of laws of thought. Each question, moreover, is not a 'proposition' in the technical sense of the word ⁽⁵⁾. It is just a point of view, an opinion, i.e. an utterance.

S. Schayer, under the influence of J. Lukasiewicz and his pupils, was the first Indologist to offer a formal analysis of the *catuṣkoṭi*. In 'Ueber die Methode der Nyāya-Forschung' ⁽⁶⁾, he offered a notational transcription of a *Stanza* from Nāgārjuna's *Kārikās*. In 1933, in his article *Altindische Antizipationen der Aussagenlogik*, the Polish scholar examined: 1) the function of rules of inference in early Buddhism and, 2) the *catuṣkoṭi* as a feature of propositional logic ⁽⁷⁾.

He defined the four-cornered scheme the *tetralemma*, each *koṭi* being regarded as a formal proposition. Following his example, the application of formal logic and symbolic notation to the *avyākātāni* of the *Pāli* Canon became an important issue in the agenda of Buddhologists. This development inspired fundamental contributions and, at the same time, brought about much confusion. Two shortcomings in the adoption of symbolic notation (especially when used with insufficient critical awareness) were and are the following: 1) the intellectual error of explaining early Buddhist material

⁽³⁾ Cf. B.M. Barua, *A History of Pre-Buddhist Indian Philosophy*, Calcutta 1921, p. 47.

⁽⁴⁾ T.W. Rhys Davids, 'Logic' (Buddhist), *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, New York 1926, vol. 8, p. 133.

⁽⁵⁾ Cf. on this crucial distinction Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, p. 335.

⁽⁶⁾ *Festschrift Winternitz*, Leipzig 1932, pp. 247-57.

⁽⁷⁾ Cf. S. Schayer, 'Altindische Antizipationen der Aussagenlogik', *Bulletin International de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences et des Lettres, Classe de philologie*, 1933, pp. 90-96.

by superimposing on it categories and concerns which are foreign to the given context (again, *na upeti*), 2) the idea that, since formal logic may be useful in understanding Nāgārjuna's *catuskoṭi*, then it should also be applicable to the *Pāli* texts. In both cases, we are faced with the illegitimacy of an anachronistic approach.

The famous scholar K.N. Jayatilleke, offered crucial contributions to the study of the *catuskoṭi*. As R.H. Robinson puts it: '[...] No other scholar has pursued the subject with such unremitting zeal, or worked out so fully and clearly the logical facets of this form' ⁽⁸⁾.

Jayatilleke wrote two important articles on *catuskoṭi*; the first one in 1950 ⁽⁹⁾, the second one in 1967 ⁽¹⁰⁾. He also dealt with the issue of the undecided questions in his major work of 1963 ⁽¹¹⁾, and he continued to think on the matter until the end of his life ⁽¹²⁾.

Jayatilleke succeeded in demonstrating that 'neither Poussin's view that this logic is due to a failure to understand or respect the principle of contradiction, nor the views of Mrs. Rhys-Davids and Barua that they are laws of thought, bear critical examination' ⁽¹³⁾. Jayatilleke's starting point was the consideration of the intrinsic difficulty of translating the *avyākataṇi* from the *Pāli* to English. He says:

They are logically contingent propositions, though the form in which they appear when they are literally translated into English is such as to suggest to the reader of the English that they are contradictions or logically impossible propositions, which are necessarily false. We are thus faced with a situation in which a difference in the system of logical classification adopted in each language seriously interferes with literal translation, which fails to do justice either to the language from which or in which the translation is done. ⁽¹⁴⁾

Contra Poussin, in his book of 1963 he gives two important reasons (among others) for showing that in the *Nikāyas* there is no denial of the principle of contradiction. These are: 1) In the *Nikāyas*, consistency is regarded as a criterion of truth, and it is stated that 'truth is one and not two', *ekam hi saccam na dutṭham attbi* (SN.884), 2) In one place in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, we come very close to a formal statement of the principle of non-contradiction. Nigaṇṭha Nāpajuttā converses with Citta and,

⁽⁸⁾ R.H. Robinson, review of K.N. Jayatilleke, *Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge*, in *Philosophy East and West*, 19, 1, 1969, p. 73.

⁽⁹⁾ K.N. Jayatilleke, 'Some Problems of Translation and Interpretation II', *University of Ceylon Review*, 8, 1950, pp. 45-55.

⁽¹⁰⁾ 'The Logic of Four Alternatives', *Philosophy East and West*, 17, 1-4, 1967, pp. 69-83.

⁽¹¹⁾ *Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge*, London 1963, 519 pp.

⁽¹²⁾ Cf. the posthumous work, *The Message of the Buddha*, London 1975.

⁽¹³⁾ *Early Buddhist...*, *cit.*, p. 334.

⁽¹⁴⁾ 'Some problems...', *cit.*, pp. 46-47.

in the course of the discussion, Citta is anxious to show that Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta is contradicting himself and says: *sace purimaṃ saccaṃ pacchimaṃ te micchā, sace pacchimaṃ saccaṃ purimaṃ te micchā*, i.e.: If your former statement (p) is true, your later statement ($\sim p$) is false, and if your latter statement ($\sim p$) is true, your former statement (p) is false ⁽¹⁵⁾.

We have come across point 1 in our previous section, when dealing with the *Cūlavīyūha Sutta* in the *Sutta Nipāta*. The problem of the principle of non-contradiction is clearly faced when interpreting the third utterance of the *catuṣkoṭi*. We have seen that the *Pāli* texts refer the 'both...and' pattern to: 1) a wide variety of subjects and things (often even a non-specified class, both singular and plural) which address anthropological-existential, cosmological and ontological concerns, 2) that only in few instances they use quantitative qualifiers such as 'partly', 'in some respects', 'up and down', 'crossways', etc. and, 3) that the translation of the negative particle *na* is of crucial importance since it can point to opposite readings.

Thus, it is impossible to 'capture' the semantic multivalences which hover in the text within a propositional logic framework. Jayatilleke took pain to rewrite in symbolic notation some of the *catuṣkoṭi* forms, trying to come up with some general conclusions. However, as we shall see, many of his statements are at variance with the data. To say the least, the *Pāli Nikāyas* present us with various types or classes of utterances. And where, if anywhere, is the border between logic and semantics?

Jayatilleke recognized that: 1) The Buddha rejected all the *avyākataṇi*, and 2) In the *Pāli* texts only two answers can be given to whatsoever question: either it is true or it is false. In other words, a two-valued logic is implicitly acknowledged in early Buddhism, as it is the basis of common discourse. It would be wrong, however, to interpret this *datum* as a 'law of thought', i.e. there is no formal description of this logical principle.

Moreover, various texts also underline that the alternatives are exhaustive (cf. the BS), and in a relation of exclusive disjunction (cf. Vacchagotta, who appends to each utterance the words *etaṃ eva saccaṃ aññaṃ aññaṃ moghaṃ*, i.e. this alone is true, another is false). Jayatilleke further elaborated on these issues in his article of 1967 ⁽¹⁶⁾.

In his work of 1963, Jayatilleke presented the alternatives with non-quantified propositions: (I) p, (II) not-p, (III) both p and not-p (IV) neither p nor not-p ⁽¹⁷⁾. The cornerstone of his theory, is that not-p is the contrary and not the contradictory of p. He credits A.J. Bahm for having proposed this idea ⁽¹⁸⁾, although P.T. Raju had

⁽¹⁵⁾ *Early Buddhist*., cit., pp 226-27.

⁽¹⁶⁾ 'The Logic...', cit, pp 69 ff.

⁽¹⁷⁾ *Early Buddhist*..., cit., p. 345.

⁽¹⁸⁾ A.J. Bahm, 'Does Seven-Fold Predication Equal Four-Cornered Negation Reversed?', *Philosophy East and West*, 7, 3-4, 1957-1958, p. 128

expressed it already in 1954 ⁽¹⁹⁾, the only difference being that Raju's dichotomy is termed contrary versus contradictory and Bahm's opposite versus contradictory (actually, Jayatilleke's terminology follows that of Raju!). In his article of 1967, Jayatilleke proposed to change the notation not-p to non-p, thus reinforcing his point. He writes:

It is evident from the historical examples that the second alternative is to be taken as the contrary of the first. We designate this by non-P instead of not-P, and non-R instead of not-R. [...] It is evident that the third alternative is not a conjunction of the first two alternatives or of the contradictories of the first two alternatives. [...] In general, the third alternative is, therefore, of the form: S is partly P and partly non-P. Instead of partly, we may substitute [...] synonymous expressions such as 'in some respects', etc. This would have to be contrasted with the first alternative, where the sense and sometimes the wording make it clear that the meaning is 'S is wholly P', while the second alternative means 'S is wholly non-P'. It is, therefore, necessary to define the conventional logical relations between 'S is wholly P' and 'S is partly P'. We have represented 'S is wholly P' as just p. We may then symbolize 'S is partly P' as Δp . The four alternatives would thus be symbolized as follows: (1) p, (2) $\rightarrow p$, (3) Δp , $\Delta \rightarrow p$, (4) $[\text{pv} \rightarrow \text{pv}(\Delta p, \Delta \rightarrow p)]$. ⁽²⁰⁾

However, if we take the second lemma non-p to be the contrary of p, we are soon faced with several problems. Two propositions are said to be contraries if they cannot both be true, though they might both be false. Thus, as F.J. Hoffmann says: '[...] If it was thought possible that they might all be false, then no one would have been surprised that the Buddha set them all aside' ⁽²¹⁾. If non-p is taken to be a sub-contrary in each lemma, then this also is problematic, since two propositions are said to be sub-contraries if they cannot both be false, though they might both be true. This solution would come close to the Jaina theory of *syādvāda*, where each lemma is considered to be true from some standpoint ⁽²²⁾. However, in early Buddhism truth can be only one, and thus relativistic logic is to be rejected.

Moreover, by interpreting the negative particle *na* as always signifying a contrary, we are not allowed to consider the four-fold scheme as exhaustive of all possibilities. The contradictories being left out of account, all propositions could be false, and thus the one alternative that must be true could well lie outside the scheme (we are here concerned with the *catuṣkoṭi* form per se, and not in relation to the *avyākataṇi*, which, indeed, must all be rejected!). However, as previously noted, there seems to be evidence that in the *Pāli* texts the *catuṣkoṭi* was thought of as being together exhaustive (and each utterance to be in a relation of mutual disjunction). Jayatilleke's error was to

⁽¹⁹⁾ P.T. Raju, 'The Principle of Four-Cornered Negation in Indian Philosophy', *Review of Metaphysics*, 7, 1954, pp. 694-713

⁽²⁰⁾ Jayatilleke, 'The Logic..', *cit.*, pp. 78-79

⁽²¹⁾ Hoffmann, *op cit.*, p. 322.

⁽²²⁾ Cf Bahm, *op. cit.*, pp 127-30.

consider the four-fold pattern as a homogeneous logical scheme, translatable into symbolic notation.

As R.H. Robinson pointed out in 1969: 'The predicates of the first two *koṭis* are sometimes contradictories ("finite or infinite in all respects"), sometimes contraries ("east or west"), and sometimes just phrases containing opposites ("torments himself, or torments another")' (23).

Thus, how are we to make sense of this form and what about the law of non-contradiction? The following are few suggestions: 1) The *catuskoṭi* is not a logic. It is just a set of four alternatives constructed with 'and' (*ca*) and 'not' (*na*) and connected by 'or' (*eva*). It almost always has existential relevance, since the answers affect the questioner's life and worldview. 2) The *catuskoṭi* operates in the framework of a two-valued 'logic', which is implicitly taken for granted in conventional linguistic discourse, i.e. represents an obvious presupposition (cf. folk psychology). We witness an ongoing dichotomic opposition between what is true and what is false. Truth can be only one. 3) The Canon supports the interpretation that the four alternatives were thought of as all together exhaustive and each in a relation of mutual disjunction. 4) The third alternative does not violate the principle of non-contradiction. Several texts in the *Nikāyas* seem to have recognized this principle and in some occasions the *Suttas* present modifiers (such as 'partly', 'in some respects', etc.). Where the texts do not use modifiers (and these are the majority of the cases), we submit that they are implicitly recognized. For example, the famous alternative 'The *Tathāgata* both exists and not exists (*hoti ca na ca hoti*) after death', should be interpreted as meaning that the *Tathāgata* in some respects survives death and in some other respects does not. This understanding of the lemma can be related to Sarvāstivādin notions, i.e. to their speculations regarding the function and nature of the *dharmas*, i.e. the elements. As L. Silburn pointed out:

Les Sarvāstivādin oscillent, semble-t-il, entre deux façons de comprendre la nature propre du passé et de l'avenir. [...] Il semble que le Sarvāstivādin, après avoir dépouillé la substance de la continuité de son être et de celle de son devenir, ait voulu conserver à l'élément quelque chose de sa permanence sans pour cela se montrer infidèle au dogme de l'instantanéité [...]. L'élément est tantôt actif, il est alors présent, et tantôt inactif bien qu'existant, il est alors passé ou futur. C'est bien là la sorte d'existence qui est accordée à la passion toute virtuelle et endormie de l'*arhat*; elle existe sans être efficiente et pourtant, du fait qu'elle existe, elle est susceptible de se réveiller lorsque les conditions le permettront et de faire tomber l'*arhat* de son état de sainteté. [...] Par ce détour les Sarvāstivādin reviennent inconsciemment et de façon subtile à l'ontologie brahmanique; ils ne définissent pas l'existence par l'efficience à la manière des autres écoles bouddhiques; ils se raccrochent à l'être, et c'est pourquoi ils ne résolvent pas les problèmes qui se présentent à eux au moyen

(23) Review of Jayatilke's *Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge*, cit., p. 77.

de la loi du *pratītyasamutpāda*; ils forgent de nombreuses entités: forces caractéristiques, possessions (*prāpti*), force vitale, etc. qui ont pour but d'expliquer ce que la formule 'ceci étant, cela est' avait pour fin d'élucider. (24)

5) The *na* defines both contrary and contradictory alternatives, depending on the context. The negative particle meaning not, no, nor, neither is ambiguous. P.T. Raju has interestingly pointed out that Sanskrit does not have separate terms to express the difference between a contrary and a contradictory (25). Perhaps, early Buddhists regarded the third alternative as to be implicitly understood as entailing modifiers, and thus bothered to clearly specify only at times. Also, it may be suggested that the aphoristic tone of the *Pāli Suttas* might have favored the shortest definition. Another possibility would be that, since the Blessed One rejected all *avyākataṇi*, the various alternatives were purportedly left ambiguous so to highlight their evident irrationality. An apologetic concern would thus be introduced from the very outset, exposing the upholders of *diṭṭhi*s to ridicule. This latter hypothesis, however, is quite doubtful.

6) The third alternative does not violate the principle of *tertium non datur*. In a two-valued logic (falsehood versus truth) of four alternatives, a conjunct proposition using modifiers can be applicable. For example, it is true that in some respects the *Tathāgata* exists after death and it is false that in some other respects he does not exist. No third value is acknowledged apart from true and false.

F.J. Hoffmann has rightly criticized Jayatilleke by showing that the texts are concerned with utterances and not with formal logic propositions (26). *Micchāṇvāda*, i.e. 'false speech' is distinguishable from *musāvāda*, i.e. 'wrong speech'. *Micchā* applies to views (*diṭṭhi*), thought (*saṅkappa*) and utterances (*vācā*). Moreover, Hoffmann argues that the principle of non-contradiction was an heuristic principle or rule for conducting discussions, which made self-contradictory utterances illicit (27). We agree. He thinks that the alternatives may be considered as existential statements, and thus best rendered as follows: 1) There exists an X such that characteristic Y applies to it. 2) There exists an X such that Y does not apply but Z applies. 3) There exists an X such that Y applies (in part) and Z applies (in part). 4) There exists an X such that neither Y nor Z apply.

There is here an evident attempt to get away from propositional or quantitative logic (contra Jayatilleke, Robinson, etc.) and still come up with some explanatory pattern. His restatement of the four alternatives, however, is not correct. As P.J. Griffiths puts it: '[...] To formulate the second alternative *There exists an X such that Y does not apply but Z does apply*, ignores the fact that what is represented here by Y and

(24) Silburn, *op. cit.*, p. 272

(25) Cf. S. Ruegg, 'The Uses of the Four Positions of the Catuskoṭi and the Problem of the Description of Reality in Mahāyāna Buddhism', *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, 5, 1977, p. 40.

(26) 'Rationality in Early Buddhist...', *op. cit.*, p. 328.

(27) *Ibid.*, p. 335.

Z is frequently a pair of contradictories in the *Pāli* (i.e.... Y does not but not-Y does...). This fault also infects Hoffmann's restatement of the third and fourth lemmas' (28).

Griffiths thinks that a more promising way of translating the tetralemma would be through the logic of empty subject terms (29). Moreover, we think Hoffmann's scheme fails to take into account the various types of concern to which the undecided questions refer. As already noted, we may describe this typology of concerns as comprehending the following: 1) anthropological-existential, 2) cosmological, 3) ontological. The Blessed One considered the questions related to point 1 to be pseudo-existential, and thus the most subtly dangerous; points 2 and 3 are devoid of soteriological relevance.

We will now proceed to comment on some other important contributions of Jayatilleke, which will help us focus attention on the fourth alternative (indeed, the most crucial one). In his work *Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge*, Jayatilleke distinguishes between four types of questions which appear in *Pāli* literature (30). These are: 1) *pañha ekamsavyākaraṇīya* (clear questions which are answered categorically. For example: Does everyone die? The answer is yes), 2) *pañha paṭipucchavyākaraṇīya* (questions which ought to be answered by a counter question. For example, if one asks: Why do I suffer? the counter question could be: Who is this I who says so?), 3) *pañha ṭhapanīya* (questions which should be set aside. For example: Will the *Tathāgata* live after death or not?), 4) *pañha vibhajjavyākaraṇīya* (questions which ought to be explained analytically and then answered. For example: Are all human beings reborn? The answer is: Some are and some are not). There is also another type of question, which is defined as *na kalla pañha* (improper question). This is to be set aside (as the *ṭhapanīya* type) because it is literally meaningless. An example would be: Are the flowers in the sky smiling?

The *Nikāyas* clearly distinguish between the *ṭhapanīya* and the *na kalla* types. Although they both are to be set aside, the latter one is negated (*no h'idam*, i.e. it is not so), whereas the former is rejected (*mā h'evam*, i.e. do not say so). As previously seen, the *avyākatāni* are all of the *ṭhapanīya* kind. They are rejected on the basis of pragmatic-existential concerns and because of their non-applicability (i.e. non-referentiality, as in the case of the postulation of an *attan* or of the condition of the *Tathāgata* after death). None of the alternatives fits the case (*upeti*).

Jayatilleke saw a modern parallel of this *ṭhapanīya* type 'in the kind of questions which the Positivist dismisses as meaningless and therefore unanswerable' (31). He aptly states that: 1) the Buddhists considered at least one of the alternatives to be true in any particular case, and 2) that they also rejected all four alternatives when

(28) Review article of Hoffman's 'Rationality in Early Buddhist Four Fold Logic', in *The Eastern Buddhist*, n.s., XXI 1, 1988, p. 140.

(29) *Ibid*

(30) *Op cit.*, pp 281-88

(31) *Ibid*, p. 287.

they considered the question meaningless ⁽³²⁾. Point 1 refers to the *ekamsavyākaraṇīya* and *vibhajjavākyākaṇīya* types (and, by extension, to the *paṭipucchavyākaraṇīya* type). Point 2 refers to the *avyākataṇi*.

With regard to the fourth alternative of the undecided questions, Jayatilleke argues that in many instances it is rejected because the predicate cannot meaningfully be applied to the subject (cf. the case of the *Tathāgata*). This is correct. On this issue, however, we may note the intriguing comment of R.H. Robinson:

The analogy confirms that the question (in which direction does a fire go when it goes out?) was considered meaningless, but does not prove that this set of questions, much less the others, was rejected solely because it is meaningless. ⁽³³⁾

But what happens when an admissible subject of predication is involved (for example, the world)? Our answer is that the question is set aside (i.e. rejected) because it is not conducive to existential welfare (i.e. to peace, tranquillity, freedom from pain, etc.). Often, the *Pāli* texts say that the fourth alternative is the point of view of a reasoner (*takkī*), which the Buddha abhors.

Let us briefly consider the statement: 'This world is neither finite nor infinite'. The reasoner, the individual who is 'addicted to logic', says that the epithets 'finite' and 'infinite' cannot be predicated of the world. Thus, this fourth proposition seems to point beyond a two-valued logic. Early Buddhism (and subsequently Nāgārjuna) refuses this hypothesis, remaining faithful to a truth-versus-false logic. The law of the excluded-middle (*tertium non datur*) is thus implicitly recognized. This represents a second, more fundamental reason for rejection. It also means that the fourth alternative, in the case of legitimate questions, was viewed to be false (i.e. was negated). For example, in the Buddhist epistemological framework (i.e. its *vāda*), the true answer to a question such as: Is form impermanent? can only be: Yes, it is. Thus, the fourth alternative was thought to be misleading. There is, however, an important exception. In the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, in the discourse to Kaccāna, it is stated that in one sense the world is not existent (because it ceases), and in another sense it is not non-existent (because it arises). In this case, where the subject is an admitted (*prasiddha*) entity, modifiers are involved. The interpretation is: 'In some respects' this world is not finite, and 'in other respects' it is not infinite. Nevertheless, we would dare to suggest that this interpretation is rather exceptional and mirrors the third alternative rather than the fourth one.

The 'neither... nor...' form, should not be confused with the Eel-wiggler's position (basically agnostic). The fourth alternative points towards a solution beyond the dichotomic oppositions of elementary logic. If we take this alternative seriously (i.e. we distinguish it from the Eel-wiggler's position), we come to the conclusion that

⁽³²⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 344-45

⁽³³⁾ Review of Jayatilleke's *Early Buddhist*, cit., p. 74

in early Buddhism there were ascetics and thinkers who strived to get beyond a two-valued logic. As noted by Hoffmann, 'some other state of affairs apply' ⁽³⁴⁾. Thus, the fourth lemma should not be dismissed as a chimera (cf. T.W. Rhys Davids). The concepts of *anirvacanīya* (indefinable) of *Vedāntic* circles and of *avakṛtavya* (indescribable) of Jaina schools seem to point in this direction. Already in 1953, D. Ingalls pointed out that the germ of a multi-valued logic may be found in Śaṅkara's notion of *avidyā*, which is *anirvacanīya* ⁽³⁵⁾.

Buddhism, of course, rejected all these attempts, denouncing them as not being grounded in experience. Moreover, as the silence of the Blessed One is non-propositional, it is out of order to consider inexpressibility as a truth value.

P.T. Raju, with respect to the *Śūnyavāda* of the *mādhyamika*, noted that the word *śūnya* 'empty' also denotes the zero in Indian mathematics, and that zero is mathematically an indeterminate number, since it is neither positive nor negative. However, there is no internal evidence that a mathematical model had any bearing on the theory of *śūnyatā* ⁽³⁶⁾. Moreover, we disagree with the idea that the fourth proposition of the *Pāli* texts points to a 'mathematical' nullification.

We may note in passing that Candrakīrti (about 600 A.D.), Nāgārjuna's famous commentator, adhered strictly to a two-valued logic. In the *Prasannapadā* he says: 'If you should maintain that one excluded (*vyatirikta*) from both goer and non-goer goes, it is not so, for what third one is there dissociated from goer and non-goer of whom it is conceived that he goes?' ⁽³⁷⁾.

Jayatilleke tried to explain the fourth alternative 'the soul after death is neither happy nor unhappy' by saying that 'the person was experiencing a neutral hedonic tone (*adukkhamasukha vedanā*)' ⁽³⁸⁾. Thus, the fourth *koṭi* would not have the characteristics of p or non-p, but a neutral value. This translation, however, is misleading, since it substitutes 'person' for '*attan*'. But *attan*, as previously noted, is not an admissible subject of predication. Thus, this was the obvious reason for early Buddhist rejection. Furthermore, where a neutral value may be applicable to existential utterances, the same is not applicable to cosmological or ontological alternatives. We cannot say that the world experiences a neutral hedonic tone!

Again, we may note the heterogeneity of examples which are involved in the *Pāli* texts, which preclude a translation in one pattern of symbolic logic.

In 1964, N. Smart made some interesting remarks on the *catuskoṭi* issue in his work *Doctrine and Argument in Indian Philosophy* ⁽³⁹⁾. The two reasons he gives for

⁽³⁴⁾ 'Rationality in Early Buddhist...', *op. cit.*, p. 335.

⁽³⁵⁾ *Philosophy East and West*, 3, 1953, pp. 69 ff.

⁽³⁶⁾ Cf. Ruegg, 'The Uses of the Four Positions...', *cit.*, p. 69, fn.

⁽³⁷⁾ Quoted from R.H. Robinson, *Early Mādhyamika in India and China*, Madison 1967, p. 51.

⁽³⁸⁾ 'The Logic...', *cit.*, p. 80.

⁽³⁹⁾ London 1964.

showing the defectiveness of the questions are: 1) their lack of referentiality, and 2) their wrong gnoseological assumptions (within a *paramāṛthika satya* framework). He argues:

Thus the question 'Does the saint survive?' is analogous to 'Is the King of France bald?' But it is only analogous in type and not exactly similar. For it is only a contingent fact that a King of France does not exist, and the question about his baldness could, in other periods of history, be perfectly sensible. But the deceased saint is not just contingently not there to be referred to. The metaphysical scheme propounded by the Buddha rules out any such reference ⁽⁴⁰⁾. [Moreover:] A second, but subsidiary reason, why the question is improper is practical. Probably, the Buddha objected to the doctrine of an eternal self not merely upon metaphysical grounds, but also because it encouraged a selfish attitude to salvation. [...] It is quite clear from the way in which he treats the undetermined questions that they are improper in a deeper sense than they are tactically unwise (if you want salvation). This is brought out by the fact that [...] the topic of whether the self and the body are identical or not is ruled out as improperly expressed, and yet the Buddha says that for the ordinary, uninstructed man it is better to think of the self as being constituted by the body. Thus he clearly distinguishes the absolutely correct way of looking at the matter (seeing why it is that certain questions do not arise) from such views as are a crude approximation useful for the business of becoming a better man. That is, he distinguishes the theoretical issue from the merely pragmatic one. [...] A right view of the world is centrally important, and this should not be regarded as a mere engineering device for getting people to do the right thing. It is not therefore surprising that the beginning of the Eightfold Path is right view. ⁽⁴¹⁾

Indeed, the pragmatic reason for rejection is subordinate to the understanding of the correct gnoseological approach, i.e. the Buddhist *vāda* (cf. the crucial notion of *nāṇa-saññā* previously discussed).

With regard to the so-called 'laws of thought' (cf. particularly the law of non-contradiction), N. Smart draws the following conclusion:

Thus the Buddha's position amounts to this: that the laws do not apply in these cases; but this does not mean that they fail to hold, i.e. that these cases constitute genuine exceptions to the laws. Indeed, from the nature of the examples used to illustrate why these undetermined questions are unanswerable, it seems clear that the Buddha thought them to be so badly formed as to be meaningless. Thus the possibility of affirming any genuine proposition in these cases was excluded. ⁽⁴²⁾

⁽⁴⁰⁾ *Ibid*, p. 35.

⁽⁴¹⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 35-36.

⁽⁴²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

As previously noted, however, the *avyākātāni* show no concern for formal logic at all. Moreover, for the sake of meaningful discourse (i.e. relatively to semantics), the principle of non-contradiction seems to have been acknowledged in the *Pāli Nikāya* texts (cf. the third *koṭi*).

In 1969, again on the issue of the fourth *koṭi*, R.H. Robinson remarked that: 'The fourth alternative "X is neither Y nor non-Y", is meaningful when X exists and when Y and non-Y are contraries rather than contradictories' ⁽⁴³⁾. However, the fourth utterance often involves contradictories, and it can be made meaningful simply by viewing it as an attempt to go beyond a two-valued scheme of logic. Most of R.H. Robinson's reflections on the *catuṣkoṭi* are not concerned with the early *Nikāyas*, but with the use that Nāgārjuna made of this form.

In the Fifties, along with P.T. Raju, H. Nakamura developed Schayer's methodology for applying it to some of the propositions of the *Mūlamādhyamikakārikās* (by using Boolean algebra) ⁽⁴⁴⁾. We will not concern ourselves with these and further developments (cf. Miyamoto in 1960, etc.).

R.H. Robinson, however, made important contributions to the study of the *catuṣkoṭi* in early Buddhism in two articles: in 1969 he wrote a review of Jayatilleke's *Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge*, and in 1972 a posthumous article of his appeared, called 'Some Methodological Approaches to the Unexplained Points'. Much of this material we have already considered. Here, we will focus our attention on two points: 1) his translation of the *catuṣkoṭi* in terms of quantitative logic (which Jayatilleke opposed) which he applied both to early Buddhism and Nāgārjuna, and 2) his final remarks, which seem to have recognized the methodological error of applying symbolic notation to the *catuṣkoṭi* of early Buddhism (thus criticizing his own previous position). He writes:

[...] When the tetralemma is quantified in this way, it is analogous to the four Aristotelian forms in some respects. The similarities and differences tabulate as follows:

Aristotelian forms:

(A) All X is A, (E) No X is A, (I) Some X is A, (O) Some X is not A.

Tetralemma:

(1) All X is A, (2) No X is A, (3) Some X is A, and some X is not A, (4) No X is A, and no X is not A.

⁽⁴³⁾ Review of Jayatilleke's *Early Buddhist...*, *cit.*, p. 77.

⁽⁴⁴⁾ Cf. H. Nakamura, 'Kukan no kigo-ronrigaku-teki ketsumei', *Indogaku-bukkyogaku Kenkyu*, 5, Sept. 1954, pp. 219-31

Since 'No X is not A' equals 'All X is A', the fourth lemma is a conjunction of E and A forms. The third lemma is a conjunction of I and O forms. The fourth lemma is a conjunction of the contradictories of the conjuncts of the third lemma; No X is A is the contradictory of Some X is A, and No X is not A is the contradictory of Some X is not A. Thus, there is a reciprocity between the third and fourth lemmas. Negation of the conjuncts of one always produces the other. ⁽⁴⁵⁾

Thus, Robinson argued that the third and fourth alternatives are not simple propositions but conjunctions. Jayatilleke soundly criticized Robinson's quantitative interpretation in his article of 1967. A fundamental error is the identification of the fourth lemma with the E and A forms (i.e. the equation No X is not A = All X is A). As Jayatilleke puts it:

[...] E and A, being contraries, cannot both be true. Even if we assume its truth, then, [...] the second and first lemmas must also be concurrently true. If so, the fourth lemma is not a logical alternative and Robinson has not proved his contention that the four members are 'in a relation of exclusive disjunction'. Robinson, however, seems to have suspected this when he made the following statement: 'I propose to interpret the fourth alternative as No X is A and no X is not A. This is true when X is null'. ⁽⁴⁶⁾

Jayatilleke thought that a basic misunderstanding was the confusion of quantified propositions with the non-quantifiable ones. He writes:

Thus, it will be absurd to translate: 'The universe is finite' as 'All the attributes of the universe are finite', but we may very well translate the proposition as: 'All the spatial or quasi-spatial attributes of the universe are finite' ⁽⁴⁷⁾. [...] When we say: 'Socrates is mortal', we surely do not mean that: 'All the attributes of Socrates are mortal', for all the attributes or constituents of Socrates, taken singly or in isolation from the rest, may very well be immortal, while Socrates is mortal. ⁽⁴⁸⁾

These words have indeed a *Sarvāstivādin* flavor.

It is frankly bewildering to note that, although Jayatilleke was deeply aware of the multiform variety of the utterances, he nevertheless tried to encompass them all in a scheme of propositional logic.

Robinson's symbolic translation of the *catuṣkoṭi* may work in some instances, but it fails to account for the variety of meanings to which the subjects (often undistributed)

⁽⁴⁵⁾ *Early Mādhyamika*. ., cit., p. 57.

⁽⁴⁶⁾ 'The Logic...', cit., p. 75

⁽⁴⁷⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

⁽⁴⁸⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 77-78.

and the predicates of the alternatives point to. Moreover, the comparison between the *catuskoṭi* and the Aristotelian form can be misleading. We may suggest that a legitimate and useful comparison could instead be attempted with the *syādvāda* of the Jains (but not by comparing them as expressions of 'formal logic'!). To our knowledge, this issue has been substantially overlooked⁽⁴⁹⁾. By the same token, Nāgārjuna's use of *catuskoṭi* can be usefully compared to the elaborations which were current among *Nyāya* circles, and on this subject several insightful contributions have been offered⁽⁵⁰⁾.

Robinson pointed out several flaws in Jayatilleke's theory of propositional logic⁽⁵¹⁾, but he also acknowledged some of the latter's criticisms. He wrote: 'Some modifiers in the *Pāli* instances look like predicate quantifiers, "altogether, wholly", but are not easily convertible to ordinary subject quantifiers, as Jayatilleke shows in criticizing my comparison between the *catuskoṭi* and the Aristotelian A, E, I, and O forms'⁽⁵²⁾.

Most important of all, Robinson was the first scholar to clearly recognize that the *catuskoṭi* form is not a logic '*per se*'. We quote:

It is hard to see how Jayatilleke can call the *catuskoṭi* a 'logic' [...]. It is not a calculus, it produces no theorems, and it participates in no forms of inference such as Aristotle's or Dignaga's syllogisms [...]. Later Buddhist thinkers exhibit instances of each kind (i.e. Some X's are Y and some other X's are non-Y, or All X's are partly Y and partly non-Y), not necessarily because, as Jayatilleke declares, they did not 'understand the logic of the four alternatives as formulated and utilized in early Buddhism' (logic, p. 82), but more likely because this archaic dialectic device was originally so vague that it permitted quite a few variants [...]. The *catuskoṭi* is not a doctrine, but just a form; later writers were at liberty to use it in new ways [...]. It is simply a pattern consisting of four propositions.⁽⁵³⁾

We wholeheartedly agree with this analysis, and bemoan the fact that such a brilliant scholar could not further elaborate on the topic (as it is well known, R.H. Robinson died one year later, in 1970). Robinson observed how some of the more

⁽⁴⁹⁾ A.J. Bahm was one of the few scholars that dealt with the topic (cf. his article previously mentioned). Although there exist some good studies on *syādvāda*, no attempt to correlate it to the *catuskoṭi* form has been undertaken.

⁽⁵⁰⁾ Cf., among others, J. Bronkhorst, 'Nāgārjuna and the Naiyāyikas', *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, 13, 1985, pp. 107-32.

⁽⁵¹⁾ Review of Jayatilleke's *Early Buddhist...*, *cit.*, pp. 71 ff.

⁽⁵²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁽⁵³⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

puzzling *catuskoṭi* forms can be exemplified in ordinary English usage (i.e. through utterances). He says:

We often say things like 'America and North Vietnam are neither at peace nor at war', without intending a contradiction. Maybe there is a non-Aristotelian, non-Russellian logic implicit in ordinary usage, or perhaps the form should be considered rhetorical rather than logical. ⁽⁵⁴⁾

Moreover, he aptly noted how the *Nikāyas* contain assertions (attributed to the Buddha) of propositions in each of the four forms. For example, the term *attan* is used in its common-sense meaning when affirmed and in its metaphysical sense when denied. The texts involve a distinction between indirect meaning (*neyārttha*) and direct meaning (*nīkārttha*). Jayatilleke observed that it is precisely here, in this distinction, that the origin of the theory of two-fold truth can be traced (cf. the conventional, *saṃvṛti*, versus the absolute, *paramārttika*, levels of truth) ⁽⁵⁵⁾.

R.S.Y. Chi, stimulated by Jayatilleke's reflections, contributed to the analysis of the *catuskoṭi* with some valuable observations. Two of his essays deserve mention: the book *Buddhist Formal Logic* ⁽⁵⁶⁾, and the article 'Topics on Being and Logical Reasoning' ⁽⁵⁷⁾. Chi recognized the fact that the four-fold scheme includes a variety of patterns. We quote: 'Among the various patterns, some belong to the restricted predicate logic and some belong to propositional logic; some involve contradictions, some involve contraries, some involve neither of them' ⁽⁵⁸⁾. In analyzing the *catuskoṭi* forms relative to the world (*loka*) and to the *Tathāgata*, he points out that each of the alternatives may be possible if they are referring to different levels of truth or observed from different points of view. However, if all the propositions refer to the same level of truth and are observed from the same point of view, then we meet with obvious problems. He says: '1) By the law of non-contradiction, the third alternative $p \cdot \sim p$ is always false, 2) By the law of excluded-middle, the fourth alternative $\sim p \cdot \sim \sim p$ is always false, 3) By the law of double negation, the fourth alternative, $\sim p \cdot \sim \sim p = p \cdot \sim p$, is equivalent to the third alternative' ⁽⁵⁹⁾.

Again, the translation of the utterances in terms of propositional logic proves inadequate. Point 3, in particular, represents a misleading equivalence.

Chi recognized that the Buddha's answer was not a rejection by negation but, rather, a rejection by silence, which is 'a most extraordinary method of dialectic' ⁽⁶⁰⁾.

⁽⁵⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

⁽⁵⁵⁾ Cf. *Early Buddhist*, cit., p. 366.

⁽⁵⁶⁾ London 1969

⁽⁵⁷⁾ *Philosophy East and West*, 24, 3, 1974.

⁽⁵⁸⁾ *Buddhist Formal Logic*, cit., p. 157.

⁽⁵⁹⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 161-62.

⁽⁶⁰⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

He also suggested that the *catuskoṭi* may be viewed through Intuitionism, since L.E.J. Brouwer rejected the laws of excluded-middle and double negation in his logic. He thus formulated the four alternatives as follows: p , $\neg p$, $p \wedge \neg p$, $\neg p \wedge \neg \neg p$. In his article of 1974, however, Chi recognized that it was both incorrect and not very helpful to use Brouwerian Intuitionism ⁽⁶¹⁾. The multiple valued logic of Intuitionism is of course unrelatable to the Buddhist scheme of two-valued logic. Moreover, Chi noted that 'the subject of *catuskoṭi* [...] is not at all Buddhist logic' ⁽⁶²⁾, and added: 'As a matter of fact, *catuskoṭi* is applicable to metaphysical speculations only' ⁽⁶³⁾, thus acknowledging T.R.V. Murti's position. By concluding that the *catuskoṭi* is not a structure of formal logic '*per se*', he apparently subscribed to R.H. Robinson's analysis of 1969, contra Jayatilleke.

J.F. Staal examined the *catuskoṭi* form by focusing on the problem of whether or not it recognizes the principles of non-contradiction and of excluded-middle. Three are his main contributions on the topic: the article 'Negation and the Law of Contradiction in Indian Thought' ⁽⁶⁴⁾, the section on 'Indian Logic' written for the *Encyclopedia of Philosophy* ⁽⁶⁵⁾, and the chapter entitled 'Buddhist Irrationalism' in *Exploring Mysticism* ⁽⁶⁶⁾.

Although much of Staal's analysis is concerned with Nāgārjuna's use of *catuskoṭi*, he often refers to the *Pāli Nikāyas* and to the four-fold logic therein. He underlines how the third alternative conflicts with the principle of non-contradiction, and thus views Raju's, Robinson's and Matilal's attempts to save the proposition from inconsistency as unsatisfactory. However, he points out that, if we assume Buddha's rejection of all four clauses, then the case of irrationalism cannot be made ⁽⁶⁷⁾. Moreover, he acknowledges the fact that most of the *Pāli* texts should be understood as necessitating modifiers. Therefore, the predicate occurring in the third alternative should not in each case be taken as applicable to the same subject. He says:

This position implies, for example, that Mālunkyaṇḍita was wondering whether the sage in one sense can be said to exist after death, and in another not to exist after death. Such double questions are often expressed by means of an apparent contradiction, either for rhetorical effect or merely on account of carelessness. ⁽⁶⁸⁾

⁽⁶¹⁾ 'Topics on Being...', *cit.*, p. 297.

⁽⁶²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 298.

⁽⁶³⁾ *Ibid.*

⁽⁶⁴⁾ BSOAS, 25, 1962, pp. 52-71.

⁽⁶⁵⁾ Section of 'Logic, History of', *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, vol. 4, New York 1967.

⁽⁶⁶⁾ London 1975.

⁽⁶⁷⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁽⁶⁸⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 40

We substantially agree with this evaluation. These same considerations, however, should be applied to the *catuskoṭi* form itself (and to its third utterance) since, at least in the context of the *Nikāyas*, no concern with formal logic is traceable. Staal, on the other hand, seems to view the *catuskoṭi* as a structure of laws of thought and doesn't clearly distinguish between the *Sutta Piṭaka* milieu and the *Mādhyamika* milieu.

At the end of his chapter on 'Buddhist Irrationality', he aptly points out that Sanskrit (and *Pāli* as well) often appears to violate the principle of non-contradiction because of its tendency to form a pair (*dvandva*) of a positive assertion and its negation. The conflation of the two is regarded as stylistically attractive, i.e. is a literary artifice ⁽⁶⁹⁾. Let us think for example at the compounds *gatāgata*, gone (*gata*) and not gone (*agata*); or *nityānitya*, permanent (*nitya*) and not permanent (*anitya*). J. Gonda, as an example of this same feature, quotes the *Atharvavedic* expression *akṣitiś ca kṣitiś ca*, indestructibility and destruction (which literally sounds like a paradox), and this usage goes back to the celebrated hymn of *Ṛg Veda* 10.129: 'Then there was neither non-existence nor existence' (*nāsad āsīm no sad āsīt tadānim*).

Again, we are faced with the task of penetrating into the inner structures of semantics and of grammatical features in their given context. We submit that a key to the comprehension of the early *catuskoṭi* form lies precisely here (i.e. in the understanding of linguistic modalities). Significantly, J.F. Staal noticed this long ago when he aptly pointed out the distinctions between logic, grammar and ritual are blurred in the Indian milieu.

All in all, Staal acknowledges that early Buddhism recognized the principle of non-contradiction.

With regard to the fourth proposition, Staal has argued that it goes against the principle of the excluded-middle. Indeed, it certainly seems to point beyond a scheme of two-valued logic. This fourth *diṭṭhi* was upheld by various schools that were contemporary with early Buddhism. The Blessed One always rejected it. Actually, the *suttas* make it clear that the Buddha regarded the fourth alternative as the most dangerous, finding it to be the one which is the characteristic of people 'addicted to sophistry'.

In considering the *Mādhyamika* position, however, Staal misses the point. He writes:

When the *Mādhyamika* philosopher negates a proposition, it does not follow that he himself accepts the negation of that proposition. Accordingly, there are other alternatives than A and not-A, and the principle of the excluded middle does not hold ⁽⁷⁰⁾. [For this reason, Staal introduces the question of Intuitionistic logic:]

⁽⁶⁹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 46

⁽⁷⁰⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 39, 44.

According to Brouwer, when we are dealing with sets of infinitely many objects, we may not be in a position to determine whether A or not-A is valid. Hence, in this logic there are more than two values. ⁽⁷¹⁾

Thus, Staal thinks that the *mādhyamika vāda* posits some third position or value beyond affirmation and/or negation. This is wrong. Nāgārjuna does not refute the *ditthi*s through negation (!) but, rather, he rejects them all. All these questions are of the *thapanīya* kind, i.e. to be cast aside. The middle way surely does not constitute a third alternative, i.e. 'it' is not to be 'reified'. As S. Ruegg has pointed out: 'The principle of the excluded third is not only valid but all together fundamental in the philosophical thought of his school (Nāgārjuna's)' ⁽⁷²⁾. It is recognized in MMK.2.8 and 15 as well as in 21.14. Candrakīrti states it in his *Prasannapadā*, cf. 23.14. If the principle of *tertium non datur* wasn't acknowledged, then there could be no absence of *vikalpa* and *papañca*; i.e. no stillness or tranquillity of mind could be attained. The injection of multi-valued logic in early Buddhism and *Mādhyamika* is a clear case of anachronistic superimposition, which does violence to the material we are considering. In the Buddhist milieu, the alternatives are always posited in a binary or quaternary conceptual form (*vikalpa*), where the affirmation of one member of a dichotomously structured pair involves the negation of the other member.

It is worthwhile noticing that the principle of *tertium non datur* constitutes a *tópos*, a veritable constant throughout the history of Buddhism. To a Buddhist mind, multiple-valued logic represents an impossibility, having no empirical ground whatsoever.

D.J. Kalupahana discussed the *avyākātāni* issue in the conclusion of his work *Causality — The Central Philosophy of Buddhism* ⁽⁷³⁾. After criticizing T.R.V. Murti's interpretation of early Buddhism as being 'not in the least satisfactory' ⁽⁷⁴⁾ and opposing K.N. Jayatilleke's understanding of *nirvāṇa* as a transcendental state realizable after death ⁽⁷⁵⁾, he proceeds to offer insightful remarks on the reasons for the Buddhist rejection of the undecided questions. He says:

The statement, 'The person who has attained the goal is without measure' (*atthangatassa na paṃāṇam atthi*), seems to convey the idea that there is no way of knowing (*paṃāṇa* = *pramāṇa*, a source of knowledge) the state of the enlightened one after his death. Hence, there is no sense in applying concepts to describe him. Thus, here, as with

⁽⁷¹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁽⁷²⁾ Ruegg, 'The Uses of the Four Positions...', *cit.*, p. 49.

⁽⁷³⁾ University Press of Hawaii, Honolulu 1975.

⁽⁷⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 177.

⁽⁷⁵⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

the question of the extent and duration of the universe, there appears to be an epistemological problem, the limitation of empiricism. [...] The silence of the Buddha was thus due to his awareness of the limitation of empiricism, rather than of concepts. ⁽⁷⁶⁾

We certainly agree with this evaluation. As mentioned before, inexpressibility (cf. the apophatic approach) is not a legitimate truth-value. The limits of empiricism (cf. our own *samskṛta* 'nature'!) are truly inescapable. As Kalupahana states: '[...] One cannot have the experience of a personality (*jīva*) divorced from the physical body (*sarīra*) and a personality identical with the physical body' ⁽⁷⁷⁾. How can we then understand the implication of a term such as *atakkāvacarā* which, as previously noted, some scholars have translated as meaning 'transcending logic'? Quite aptly, Kalupahana argues that: 'A careful study of the oldest *suttas* indicates not that the concepts themselves are inadequate to express reality, but that the way our minds are conditioned when using such concepts creates difficulties in understanding reality through such means' ⁽⁷⁸⁾. In other words, the Buddhist *vāda* claims *nirvāṇa* to be simply unrelated to speculative logic and sophistry (i.e. the various conditionings of our mind). Only the experience of *ñāṇa-saññā* can bring about true knowledge. In turn, this clear insight into the nature of the *dharmas* and of *paṭiccasamuppāda* unveils the limits of empiricism. As Kalupahana concludes:

Rejecting an Absolute [...] or a transempirical reality, the Buddha confined himself to what is empirically given. Following a method comparable to that adopted by the modern Logical Positivists, he sometimes resorted to linguistic analysis and appeal to experience to demonstrate the futility of metaphysics. ⁽⁷⁹⁾

In 1977, A. Wayman and R.C. Pandeya came up with some interesting considerations on the problem of *catuskoṭi*.

Wayman's article, 'Who Understands the Four Alternatives of the Buddhist Texts?', links Nāgārjuna's use of the *catuskoṭi* to its antecedent forms in the *Pāli Nikāyas* ⁽⁸⁰⁾. Here, we will confine ourselves with two issues: 1) the question of logic, 2) the three different applications of the *catuskoṭi*.

⁽⁷⁶⁾ *Ibid* , pp. 179-80.

⁽⁷⁷⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

⁽⁷⁸⁾ *Ibid.*

⁽⁷⁹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

⁽⁸⁰⁾ *Philosophy East and West*, 1, 1977.

Wayman first considers the problem of the application of symbolic logic to the alternatives. He says:

If the statements do not have an easily isolated logical structure, it is hazardous and probably contraindicated to apply symbolic logic. Even if they do have an easily isolated logical structure, one asks if they are also so complicated that one requires a symbolic representation to sift or show truth and falsehood ⁽⁸¹⁾. [Moreover:] In the case of the *catuskoṭi*, the given is a rather considerable corpus of material in the *Pāli* scriptures and then in Nāgārjuna's works, not to speak of contributions by later Asian authors. And there is the assumption that this corpus is at hand in a translated form of English sentences that are susceptible, in whole or part, of being converted from their natural form to the artificial language of a symbolic system. ⁽⁸²⁾

Wayman aptly recognizes the variety and complexity of the *catuskoṭi* structure, and also the dangers and possible shortcomings of a transcription into symbolic notation (which acquires a sort of independent existence, thus missing the richness of semantics). This, however, does not preclude the possibility of translating a portion or a subset of the whole literary corpus into propositions of formal logic. The preliminary obvious warning is that one needs to do this with critical skill and always referring back to the original texts.

We agree with Wayman's conclusion, that unfortunately: '[...] Some of the modern writers have rendered the discussion into an artificial language, and then have dwelt on false issues of whether this or that scholar's formulation is a "logic"' ⁽⁸³⁾. Wayman argues for the distinction between three different 'kinds' of *catuskoṭi*. Following Jayatilke, he views the first type (operating in a disjunctive system) as explanatory of the individual propositions. Thus, it serves a sort of preliminary objective, so as to clearly identify the alternatives and request the (eventual) acceptance of one and only one of the utterances (given a non-*ṭhapanīya* set of discourse).

The second type applies to the problem of causation. Each of the alternatives being denied, it serves the purpose of a meditative exercise, conducive to the stilling of the mind. This soteriological understanding comes close to Robinson's definition of the tetralemma in the *Mādhyamika* milieu as an 'effective therapeutic device' ⁽⁸⁴⁾.

The third type of *catuskoṭi* refers to the problem of existence, which again serves as another meditative exercise by radically opposing the notional activity of the mind (*samjñāskandha*) and its net of presuppositions and latencies. Wayman observes that the priority of causation over existence is consistent with Nāgārjuna's perspective, since the *Mūlamādhyamikakārikās* open with the treatment on conditional causes

⁽⁸¹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁽⁸²⁾ *Ibid.*

⁽⁸³⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁽⁸⁴⁾ Cf. Robinson, *Early Mādhyamika*, cit., p. 56.

(*pratyaya*), which are subsequently followed by the treatment of the alternatives on existence, non-existence, etc. Moreover: '[...] All three kinds of *catuskoṭi* are found in early Buddhism and later in the *Mādhyamika* school' ⁽⁸⁵⁾. He argues that the *Pāli suttas* offer many instances of the first and third kind of *catuskoṭi*, whereas the second kind is best typified in the discourses to Kassapa and Kaccāyana.

Wayman's effort to distinguish between different applications of the *catuskoṭi* (linking them with soteriological concerns) represents a step in the right direction. His treatment, however, is rather superficial. We may summarize our critique with the following points: 1) All and not just some of the *catuskoṭi* forms serve an explanatory function (given a disjunctive set of discourse). 2) In the *Pāli* texts the issue of causation (which is in itself a problematic notion) is often inseparably linked to existential concerns. 3) The notion of existence is vague and calls for clarification and distinctions. As we have pointed out previously, the *suttas* present us with a wide range of questions of specific kind: existential, anthropological, cosmological, ontological and also a mixture of these. This awareness calls for a more elaborate and text-based subdivision of *catuskoṭi* typologies. Again, the treatment of the four alternatives as a separate, distinct feature fails to take seriously into account the given context. Indeed, not enough attention is paid to the fact that the *catuskoṭi* is a part of the larger *avyākātāni* issue. An appreciation of the value and richness of the *catuskoṭi* form in the *Pāli suttas* is precluded if divorced from its set of discourse (i.e. the list of all the undecided utterances; cf. the *Brahmajālasutta*). Unfortunately, many scholars do not clearly distinguish between the *Sutta Piṭaka* context and *Mādhyamika* concerns. This brings about much confusion and unwarranted extrapolations. Although it is certainly necessary and useful to relate Nāgārjuna's use of *catuskoṭi* to the *Pāli* sources, this comparison should always be undertaken within a sound historical framework, thus accounting for developments, change and discontinuities.

We agree with Wayman when he recognizes the soteriological, cathartic significance of the rejection of the four alternatives. This is indeed a crucial issue. It will be fully developed by Nāgārjuna in his theory of *śūnyatā*.

Although Wayman appreciates Robinson's understanding of the *catuskoṭi* as a form rather than a rigid structure, he takes it to be a misleading interpretation. He says:

[...] I have brought up sufficient evidence to show that Nāgārjuna, in the matter of the *catuskoṭi*, is heir to and continuator of teachings in the early Buddhist Canon [in Pāli, the four *Nikāyas*; in Sanskrit, the four *Āgamas*]. Furthermore, I cannot concede that the *catuskoṭi* is just a form. ⁽⁸⁶⁾

⁽⁸⁵⁾ Wayman, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

⁽⁸⁶⁾ *Ibid*, p. 15.

We tend to disagree. The problem is very delicate indeed. We submit that Nāgārjuna's instrumental use of *catuskoṭi* led towards new perspectives and was motivated by different reasons. Although his enterprise can be viewed as a legitimate and coherent one (i.e. in a relation of continuity with early Buddhist concerns), it nevertheless marks a new departure. As a matter of fact, the Blessed One did not make the *catuskoṭi* his instrument or 'vehicle'. Nāgārjuna did. The Buddha was indifferent towards the *catuskoṭi*.

The interpretation of the scheme of four alternatives as simply a form is most appropriate, since it allows for variations and different usages. The great variety of the *catuskoṭi* is indeed confirmed by the *Sutta Piṭaka* themselves.

Pandeya's article deals with the notion of indescribability and is related to the interpretation of the fourth alternative⁽⁸⁷⁾. If indeed early Buddhism as well as Nāgārjuna rejected this category (pointing beyond a two-valued 'logic'), it represents nevertheless a very challenging issue for comparison. In this respect, we should venture into the study of the Jaina concept of *avakṛtārya* and the *Advaitin* notion of *anirvacanīya*. The analysis of these notions, however, goes beyond the scope of our present research. Suffice it to say that religious movements contemporary to early Buddhism elevated indescribability to be a third truth-value. These various schools claimed it had empirical validity, since indescribability was 'seen' (i.e. experienced) at the culmination of supreme enlightenment (*mukti*). Thus, in this latter case, the silence of the saint is indeed referential (i.e. points to 'something' which cannot be described).

R.D. Gunaratne made some important contributions to the study of the *catuskoṭi* form. Two articles deserve special mention: 'The Logical Form of Catuskoṭi: a New Solution'⁽⁸⁸⁾, and 'Understanding Nāgārjuna Catuskoṭi'⁽⁸⁹⁾. Here, we will concern ourselves with only some of the main issues.

Gunaratne's contention is that: '[...] All the *catuskoṭi* of early and later Buddhism can be symbolized in terms of class logic'⁽⁹⁰⁾. He argues that the four alternatives of Early Buddhism can be formulated by two symbolic forms, α and β ; where α stands for the class of non-universal propositions and β for the class of universal ones. As an example of α , he quotes the *catuskoṭi* relative to the world or universe (finite, infinite, both, neither), which he visualizes by utilizing the Venn diagram (given a mutually exclusive and together exhaustive set of discourse). He translates the first and second utterances respectively as 'the world is wholly finite' and 'the world is wholly infinite'. Wholly finite, however, does not mean that all the aspects of the world are finite but, rather, that no aspect of the world is infinite. He

⁽⁸⁷⁾ R.C. Pandeya, 'The Logic of Catuskoṭi and Indescribability', in his *Indian Studies in Philosophy*, Delhi 1977, pp. 89-103.

⁽⁸⁸⁾ *Philosophy East and West*, 30, 2, 1980, pp. 211-39.

⁽⁸⁹⁾ *Philosophy East and West*, 36, 3, 1986, pp. 213-34

⁽⁹⁰⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

says: '[...] The terms "finite" and "infinite" need not apply to some aspects or even to any aspects of the world' ⁽⁹¹⁾).

As an example of β , he quotes the *catuskoṭi* relative to the happiness of the soul. He argues that the *Pāli* expression 'the soul is wholly happy' (*ekānta-sukhī attā boti*) should be regarded as a stylistic variation of 'all souls are wholly happy'. Here, he follows Robinson's quantitative translation of the alternatives, contra Staal. He recognizes the fact that 'happy' and 'unhappy' are merely opposites, not contraries. He then offers a scheme of four diagrams to express the four alternatives visually (again in a mutually exclusive and together exhaustive framework).

Although Gunaratne's distinction between universal and non-universal propositions is a useful attempt at clarification (i.e. a way of reconciling propositional logic and predicate logic as both at work in differing contexts), his theory still calls for proof. In particular, the example he offers of the α class is based on questionable assumptions; i.e. the semantics of the *Pāli* text leaves room for altogether different translations. Again, we are faced with the vagueness and at the same time richness of the *Pāli suttas*.

Be that as it may, we think his attempt at clarification deserves attention. We suggest that a fair way of dealing with the supposed 'logic' of the *avyākātāni* would be the following: 1) Determine a list of all the possible translations of each *catuskoṭi* form. 2) Choose the rendering we think to be most appropriate in each context, explaining the reasons of our preference. 3) Express each of the *catuskoṭi* (where feasible) in terms of propositional and/or predicate logic (given a framework of two-valued logic, recognizing the principles of non-contradiction and *tertium non datur*). 4) Try to account for the complexity of all *catuskoṭi* forms by pointing out their different concerns (existential, anthropological, cosmological, ontological).

Points 1 and 2 take into account the problem of semantics, points 3 and 4 deal with symbolic transcription. Point 4 is indeed the most challenging one and may defy notational transcription. Also, the use of diagrams and geometrical figures could be helpful for establishing a criteria of classes.

Moreover, it would be rewarding to carefully contrast the *catuskoṭi* form with the *syādvāda* of the Jainas, although admittedly the *saptabhaṅgī* form with its seven *nayas* was developed much later, i.e. during the 1st millennium CE.

Quite aptly, Gunaratne states that: 'The *avyākātāni* [...] played a key role in the development of Buddhist schools. They were not only points of deviation between the two great traditions of *Theravāda* and *Mahāyāna*, they were also a link between them [...]. It is the terms and the linguistic forms of the same *catuskoṭi* of early Buddhism that Nāgārjuna reinterprets' ⁽⁹²⁾.

We agree with Gunaratne when he interprets Nāgārjuna's use of *catuskoṭi* as a critique of early Buddhist *Abhidharmic* notions, which account for the pluralistic

⁽⁹¹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 220.

⁽⁹²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 221.

character of the early *Suttas*, and which are a key to the understanding of the third alternative as necessitating modifiers. He says:

The parallel set representing the *Mādhyamika* interpretation, will be what could be called 'limiting' cases of α and β [...], these forms I shall term α_N and β_N , respectively. ⁽⁹³⁾

Nāgārjuna's concern is with the metaphysical types of *avyākatāni*, and not with the more existential ones (cf. the happiness of the soul). His critique is entirely focused on the crucial notion of *svabhāva* (own being). Thus, the rejection of the third alternative is for him an obvious matter, since the use of modifiers with supposed *svabhāva* entities would be absurd (in contrast to early *Abhidharmic* notions, which distinguished between the different natures and characters of *dharmas*, i.e. of the elements coexisting in the same *samskṛta* object). As Robinson pointed out:

It is a striking feature of the *Stanzas* that all predicates seem to be asserted totally of the whole subject. Existential quantifications are denied because the discussion is concerned not with the denial or affirmation of commonsense assertions, such as 'Some fuel is burning, and some is not', but with the concepts of own-being and essence. What pertains to part of an essence must of course pertain to the whole essence. Many of Nāgārjuna's terms are explicitly bound and universally quantified. The usual quantifying expressions are 'all' and 'not', anything-anyone-anywhere-anywhen. ⁽⁹⁴⁾

Nāgārjuna saw the great instrumental validity of the *catuṣkoṭi* form and reinterpreted it so as to serve the process of unveiling of *sūnyatā*, i.e. radical emptiness.

The article of F.J. Hoffmann ('Rationality in Early Buddhist Four Fold Logic') of 1982, has previously been considered in its main aspects. Thus, we do not need to develop it further. V.K. Bharadwaja's article of 1984 ⁽⁹⁵⁾, though interesting and insightful, need not be analyzed, since it takes into consideration issues with which we have already extensively dealt.

A further study of the *catuṣkoṭi* would require a thorough analysis of how Nāgārjuna and the *Mādhyamika* schools developed this most interesting piece of early Buddhist dialectics.

⁽⁹³⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

⁽⁹⁴⁾ Robinson, *Early Mādhyamika...*, cit., p. 54.

⁽⁹⁵⁾ 'Rationality Argumentation and Embarrassment: A Study of Four Logical Alternatives (Catuṣkoṭi) in Buddhist Logic', *Philosophy East and West*, 34, 3, 1984, pp 303-19

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Divinatory Techniques in *Śivapurāṇa* V 25

A Common Ground to Medicine, Divination and Speculative Thought

by ALBERTO PELISSERO

I

The 25th chapter of *Umāsaṃhitā* in ŚP (*) (*kālavijñānavamānaṃ*) contains a concise exposition of various divinatory techniques, in the usual form of a dialogue between Pārvatī (playing the role of *śiṣya*) and Śiva (*guru*).

The Goddess asks about the 'wheel of time' (*kālacakra*), the 'signs of death' (*mṛtyucibna*) and the 'extent of life' (*āyus*) (śś. 3-5).

Śiva answers expounding the science of the time (*scil.* of death: 'yena śāstreṇa [...] kālaḥ prabudhyate', ś. 6). This will occupy the following part of the chapter, as far as ś. 75. Obviously in this context the absolute identity between *kāla* and *mṛtyu* must be kept in mind.

Having enumerated the usual subdivisions of time ranging from *ahar* to *vatsara* the exposition of this science useful for obtaining *vairagya* begins (śś. 7-8).

A first section regards the 'bodily' signs of death (*āṅgikāni mṛtyucibnāni*, śś. 9-20), for which see Table 1.

Next 'exterior' signs (*bāhyasthāni cibnāni*) are taken into account (śś. 21-29), for which see Table 2.

Now the God succinctly (*saṃkṣepeṇa*, ś. 29) expounds a couple of methods of divination based on the two sides of the body, left and right (śś. 30-75).

First of all some purificatory baths and lavacres must be undertaken (śś. 31-32).

Then a method is described being based on the super-imposition (*nyāsa*) on the knots (beginning with the little finger and ending with the thumb) of each of the *titthi*-s. After repeating *navātmaka mantra* 108 times the devotee must examine every one of the knots of both hands: if a line in the form of a bee is to be seen in one of them, death will occur on the corresponding *titthi* (śś. 33-36).

(*) The following abbreviations will be used hereafter for the basic reference texts: ŚP (*Śivapurāṇa*), CS (*Carakasamhitā*), ŚSv (*Śivasuvarodaya*), ś. (*śloka*), śś. (*śloka-s*).

TABLE 1

ŚLOKA	SIGN	TIME OF DEATH
9	subject pale with red patches	6 months
10	paralysis	do.
11	deafness	do.
12	blindness	do.
13	shiver in left hand	1 month
14	unfolding and expanding limbs, dry palate	do.
15	3 <i>doṣa</i> -s disturbed	15 days
	dry mouth and palate	6 months
16	thick tongue	do
17/18	the subject cannot see himself reflected in water, oil, clarified butter or in a mirror; or the image appears distorted	do
19	the subject sees his own shadow (<i>chēyā</i>) headless, or he cannot see it at all	1 month

Finally a technique is expounded, termed 'born of sound' (*nāda*jam, ś. 37). As we shall see, the particular *nāda* that matters here is *svara* ⁽¹⁾, i.e. the sound produced by the flowing of breath into the nostrils, and more generally the same flowing of breath in and out (śś. 37-75).

There are three paths of this science: the left one, the right one and the middle one (ś. 40). Obviously this applies to the flow of breath into the left, the right or both nostrils, and more specifically to the corresponding flow of vital air in *idā*, *piṅgalā* or *suṣumnā*. The flow is calculated in a period ranging from 5 up to 25 days (ś. 41). Owing to the fact that normally the flow alternates in the nostrils approximately every 60 minutes, it is logic that an uninterrupted flow in one of them for more than 5 days is considered an omen.

⁽¹⁾ The term derives from the root *svr* 'to sound' (cf. Greek *σῶρυξ*, Lat. *susurrus*, Germ. *schurzen*, Engl. *swarm*). Its first meaning is 'sound, noise, voice'. This is referred to e.g. in CS V.I 3, 15-16, where those particular signs of death are taken into examination, formed by the alteration of voice in the patient. Other meanings are 'tone' in recitation (high or low); 'accent' (in particular *svarita* 'sounding accent', besides *udatta* 'upraised' and *anudatta* 'not upraised'); a note in the musical scale (and therefore a symbolical expression of number seven). But it means also 'vowel', and Patañjali offers the etymology **svayam rājate* 'it is autonomous' to support this meaning, because the term signifies exactly that class of sounds that can be pronounced alone, whereas consonants and semivowels need their aid to subsist. See Patañjali, *Maṭābhāṣya* I.II 1 *ad* Pāṇini, *Aṣṭādhyāyī* I.II 29-30 (= I 206 ed. Kielhorn), *cit.* in S.W. Allen, *Phonetics in Ancient India*, London 1965 (1953), p. 29, fn. 7. A similar evaluation is in *Yoginibhāṣya* I 14, with Amṛtānanda's *dīpikā ad loc.*, where the class of vowels is aided by Śiva's aspect as *prakāśa*, while the consonants by His *varmaśa* facet. However the technical meaning that is relevant in our context is 'air breathed (in and out) through the nostrils'

TABLE 2

ŚLOKA	SIGN	TIME OF DEATH
21	the subject sees the lunar or solar disk devoid of rays, or like the trumpet flower	15 days
22	the subject cannot see the star Arundhati (Alcor), the moon or any star whatsoever	1 month
23	the subject has an illusory perception of the quarters on seeing the planets, or he cannot see the star Utathya, the polar star or the solar disk	6 months
24	the subject perceives either rainbow at night, or the fall of meteors at midday Or he is surrounded by vultures and crows	do.
25	the subject cannot see the Great Bear or the Milky Way	do.
26	the subject sees the moon or the sun swallowed by Rāhu (i.e. eclipsed) or the wheel of quarters roaming about	do.
27	the subject is surrounded by blue bees	1 month
28	a crow or a dove settles on his head	do.

The significant signs (*dhvaja*) in the left path are the 10 gates of the body (mouth, ears, eyes, nostrils, anus and reproductive organ, plus the *brahmarandhra*) and the four quarters (*dis*), in the right one they are the qualities deriving from the variations proper of seasons (*ṛtovikārabhūtāśca guṇās*, śś. 42-43).

From ś. 44 up to the end of the chapter (ś. 75) the time of death is calculated according to: 1) the number of days of uninterrupted flow, 2) located in one or the other or both nostrils (or *nāḍī*-s). All this is summed up in Table 3.

It is easy to see that the division of days into even and odd numbers plays also a role in the classification.

It is noteworthy that the middle path is quite neglected. This is probably due to the fact that traditionally *suṣumnā* is believed to be auspicious with regard to the yearning after *mokṣa*, but dangerous with regard to the common way of life ⁽²⁾. And the only reference to this path is expressed in a somehow cryptic way ⁽³⁾.

Here ends the exposition of the wheel of time-death (*kālacakra*) in ŚP V 25.

⁽²⁾ For a brief discussion of the term see e.g. *Spandakārikā* I 25; *Śivasambitā* II 25-27, III 60; Kālicaraṇa's comm. *ad Śaṭcakṛanirūpaṇa* 1; *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* III 4, 26-31, IV 42-43 and S.B. Dasgupta, *Aspects of Indian Religious Thought*, Calcutta 1977 (1957), pp. 152 f.

⁽³⁾ Literally: 'the flow of breath on one part of the face makes him live for one day' ('*ekabhāgato [] jīvati*', ŚP V 25 73b-74a).

II

The signs (*cibha*) of death are obviously examined primarily by that branch of medicine that we would call semiotics. In fact the *Indriyasthāna* (CS V.I-XIII) is wholly dedicated to the signs of life and death.

The term 'shadow' (*chāyā*, already seen in ŚP V 25.17-19) appears together with 'reflex' (*praticchāyā*) in CS V.I 3, but is better explained later (*ibid.*, VII 9). Here *praticchāyā* is intended to mean the image reflected in some means (water, mirror, etc.) according to measure and shape of the subject, whereas *chāyā* is the shade based on his lustre and complexion. So it corresponds to what we would call 'shine' or 'halo'.

According to the predominance of one of the *mahābbūta*-s five types of *chāyā* may be classified having different features, for which see Table 4 (CS V.VII 10-13).

Another term used to mean shadow is *pannarūpīya*, i.e. that which is devoid of colour, and a patient whose shadow appears as severed, thorn, confused, diminished, exceeded, etc. or distorted in respect of shape, colour and lustre must be avoided by the doctor (*ibid.*: V.VII 5-8, V.VIII 3). The reason may be viewed in a sort of sympathetic link existing between the state of health of the individual and the shadow projected by his own body. This reminds us of ŚP V 25.17-19; while CS V.XI 5 is analogous to ŚP V 25.22.

A third distinction appears in CS V.VII 16-17, where *chāyā* as a shade invading the entire complexion, observed from nearby, is opposed to (*pra*)*bbhā* as a shade illuminating the entire figure, shining from a certain distance.

Finally, a 'fatal sign' (*ariṣṭa*) is defined as produced by the *doṣa*-s having transcended any remedial countermeasure and so pervading the entire body (CS V.XI 29).

III

The term that has attracted our attention so far, *chāyā*, is to be met again if we shift from the medical literature to the divinatory one. The bounds between the two genres are not to be overlooked. In fact mantics is, in Indian classical society as in other archaic civilizations ⁽⁴⁾, strictly linked with medicine. And the basic procedure of the specialist of divination is the same through which the doctor after examining the patient and his environment is able to express a diagnosis and to formulate a prognosis. What a doctor is called for, and what mantics not always the committer can expect to do, is the ability to modify in a certain degree the course of the process already begun: what for the doctor is therapy, for mantics a series of expiatory devices

(4) A detailed view of a large area (into which — alas — India stands out for its absence) is to be found in J.P. Vernant et. al., *Divination et rationalité*, Paris 1974. This miscellaneous volume faces the problem of the mental operations acting as background of the theoretical basis of divinatory 'science'

TABLE 3

LEGENDA: L = left; R = right; B = both; D = day; M = month; Y = year.

NOSTRIL	NUMBER OF DAYS	SPAN OF LIFE
L	5/10/15	1 Y
L	20	6 M
L	25	3 M
L	26	2 M
L	27	1 M
R	5/10/15/20/25/26/27	4 D
L	6	1 Y 8 M 8 D
L	7	1 Y 7 M 6 D
L	8	2 Y 4 M 24 D
L	9	7 M 12 D
L	11	1 Y 9 M 8 D
L	12	1 Y 7 M 6 D
L	13	1 Y 4 M 24 D
L	14	1 Y 6 M 24 D
L	15	9 M 24 D
L	16	10 M 24 D
L	17	9 M 18 D
L	1	8 M 12 D
L	23	5 M
L	24	3 M 18 D
R	28	28 D (<i>titibimānena</i>)
R	10	immediate death
R	30	5 D
R	31	3 D
R	32	2 D
B	—	1 D

TABLE 4

LEGENDA: A = auspicious; I = inauspicious.

MAHĀBHŪTA	FEATURES
<i>ākāśa</i> (A)	pure, blue, unctuous, lustrous
<i>vāyu</i> (I)	rough, blackish, reddish, lustreless
<i>agni</i> (A)	pure, red, brilliant, charming
<i>āp</i> (A)	clear like cat's eye, unctuous
<i>pṛthivī</i> (A)	stable, unctuous, solid, smooth, sky-colour

to counteract particularly bad omens. Just as some illnesses are deadly and see the doctor impotent, so such specially inauspicious signs as a prolonged *svara* of *suṣumnā* type are too strong to be opposed anyhow by the *svarodayavid*.

But before entering more specifically in the reign of mantics it is necessary to draw our attention towards some elements of physiology of visual perception. This is necessary if we want to understand what really underlies to some apparently complicated divinatory methods that will be examined in the next section.

It is generally accepted that two distinct types of activity exist in the retina: a scotopic mechanism, mediated by the rods, concerned with the appreciation of light, achromatic, working with a low threshold stimulus intensity, and therefore being typically evident in conditions of dark adaptation; and a photopic mechanism, mediated by the cones, concerned with form and colour vision, working with a relatively high threshold stimulus intensity, and therefore being typically evident in the light-adapted eye ^(?). The differences between the two types of receptor are not only structural and topographical (due to their relative preponderance in the foveal area and the retinal periphery), but also include their possession of different photopigments, while their contrasting functions are reflected in the difference in their nervous organization. In fact the rods are associated in large groups with a single nervous pathway allowing them to summate subliminal stimuli and become active at a low threshold, while the more individual connections of the cones facilitate a discriminative response at a higher luminance level.

If we now point our attention to the dramatic fact that visual activity continues after stimulation of the retina has ceased (a phenomenon well known from early times), the kind of facts that attract our curiosity is the world of after-images.

These may be defined as the subjective after-effects experienced when the eye has been stimulated by light. They may be divided into two classes: a persistence of physiological processes of the same type gives rise to a *positive* after-image, while the development of processes of an opposite kind gives rise to *negative* after-images. In the case of black and white stimuli, the terms therefore correspond to those used in photography: in the positive after-image the light areas appear light and the shaded areas dark; in the negative ones the appearance is reversed, a process termed 'successive contrast'. When coloured lights are used, if the same colour is seen in the after-image as in the original it is said to be *homochromatic*; if the complementary colour (i.e. that colour which summed to the precedent gives a chromatic sensation of white) becomes evident it is termed a *complementary* after-image ⁽⁶⁾.

(?) Recent findings however, while testifying to these two modes of function have tended to blur the distinction between the two types of receptor, shifting the emphasis in terms of neural systems. For a more detailed exposition of the data contained into this section see Sir William Stuart Duke Elder, ed., *System of Ophthalmology*, London 1958-1976, vol. IV, pp. 543 ff., 656-63; vol. VI, pp. 330-69.

(6) Although positive and negative after-images are therefore opposed in appearance it must be remembered that there is no discontinuity between them, and one may merge into the other. The nature of the reaction depends on several factors, among which the nature and intensity of the stimulus, the

In general it may be said that a single stimulus of medium intensity produces a positive after-image, but at the same time it tends to inhibit visual processes of a like nature and to encourage those of an opposite kind, so changing the state of the visual mechanism that a second stimulus falling upon the same retinal area becomes modified and gives rise to a negative image.

Thus, if the eyes are turned towards a spot of light yet protected from it by a card, if this is rapidly removed and as rapidly replaced, the light is seen as a positive homochromatic after-image with all its original brightness and detail. So vivid, indeed, may be the impression of the original after-image that the card appears transparent, and details which were not noted in looking at the light are brought to the attention in the after-image. If, on the other hand, the light is regarded for 30 or 40 seconds and then the gaze is directed upon a white surface an induced negative after-image is seen thereon: if the light were white, a black spot surrounded by a bright halo is seen, and if it were coloured, the spot appears tinged with the complementary colour (7).

While retinal activity still persists after the reception of a stimulus as indicated by the appearance of after-images, it is incapable of reacting normally to a second stimulus of a similar nature, but shows an increased tendency to produce responses of an opposite kind; this gives rise to a negative after-image complementary to the first stimulus. Stimulation has therefore an inhibitory effect on succeeding reactions of a similar kind. If the primary and secondary lights are identical, there results a change in luminosity. Thus if a white light is regarded and the gaze is then turned upon a white surface, a negative after-image appears as a dark patch surrounded by a bright halo. A white illuminated field observed in a dark room produces an after-image of a black area surrounded by a white illuminated field when observed in a complete darkness, while a black area surrounded by a white illuminated field causes

occurrence of succeeding stimuli, the region of the retina stimulated, and the state of its adaptation are the most important

(7) The after-image phenomena which follow a single brief stimulus of moderate intensity are of an extremely complex nature, and a great variety of inconsistent descriptions are to be found in the literature. There are two methods by which the phenomenon has been studied: either a stationary light-pulse is employed and the after-images are studied as they appear in time-sequence, or less preferably, a moving light may be observed while the eye is kept stationary, in which case the after-images appear spread out in space. Thus the appearance of an illuminated radial slit in a rotating disc gives rise to the sensation of a number of alternating bright and dark bands (*Charpentier's bands*, 1892), to be followed by an after-image (*Bidwell's ghost*, 1894). The differing sequences of events as depicted by the various workers were studied (with a moving light) by Frohlich (1920), (with a stationary light-pulse) by Judd (1927), and more recently (as seen in the dark) by Trezona (1960). As a rule they last for a few seconds or minutes although after intense stimuli they may last for days or weeks (Newton, 1691). They are seen with the eyes closed, a phenomenon first studied by B. Franklin (1769), or in a dark room or under ordinary conditions of lighting; and they appear as a series of successive positive and negative phases, light or dark, coloured or complementary, varying considerably with the background against which they are viewed.

a white after-image in the dark. If the primary stimulus is coloured and the secondary stimulus is white, the after-image is tinged with the complementary colour; thus after a green stimulus, if a white light falls upon the retina during the period of a positive (green) after-image, the resultant sensation in the part of the retina already stimulated will be purple (white minus green). If the second stimulus excites a larger area than the first, a negative after-image lies within the positive image of the second stimulus, so that the former is surrounded by a halo of its complementary colour. After looking at a surface of one colour, we see a grey surface tinged with its complementary colour.

It will be readily appreciated that these conditions provide material for the most complex reactions, for we are dealing with responses which vary according to the nature and intensity of the light. Thus an after-image may wax and wane in a most irregular manner, the response tending to be rhythmical; positive may alternate with negative after-images; successive after-image may show a very variable colour series of extraordinary beauty, richness and saturation, in which the simple colours, red, green and blue play a predominant part, but which may give place to violet, rose, orange and other hues. Moreover, from stimulation by white light coloured responses form a very constant feature, red appearing first, to be succeeded by green and blue, a phenomenon dependent on the different rates of growth of the various sensations. Since a weak initial stimulus or the absence of a second stimulus produces a positive after-image, and a strong initial stimulus in the presence of a second causes it to appear negative, a second stimulus of the correct strength may make the after-image disappear altogether. Finally, an after-image which has disappeared may be revived by alterations in the intensity of the second stimulus, and the changes of effect may persist for a very long time, indeed, for as long as several hours. It is not surprising, therefore, that somewhat different series of events have been described by various authors; and it cannot be accepted that the problem, which is of extreme complexity, has yet been adequately elucidated ⁽⁸⁾.

IV

Till now we have taken into account different divinatory devices contained in texts dealing with them only incidentally. Turning towards the technical literature of this particular 'science', and having remembered some basical notions of visual physiology we shall be able to better understand certain processes that otherwise would remain obscure.

⁽⁸⁾ The mechanism of the formation of after-images is still obscure. There is no doubt that they are partly retinal in origin, but the evidence for the interplay of complex neurophysiological processes at a higher level is equally persuasive. That the retina plays a part in their origin can be shown by many experiments which demonstrate that an after-image may be formed by a stimulus which never reaches consciousness.

A text of particular interest in this regard is the *Śivasvarodaya*, a useful handbook describing in 395 śś. a good number of different divinatory techniques (?). The general characteristics of the main outlines of the treatise are as follows.

The phenomenon consisting in the alternated flow of breath into one and successively the other nostril is considered an index, or symptom, of the particular situation under examination. The periods into which the breath flows into both nostrils are limited in extent, and therefore are considered essentially as a moment of transition between a free nostril progressively closing and the other one closed but progressively opening. A prolonged flow in both nostrils is generally inauspicious. Thus the system would comprise only three possible answers. To introduce a certain degree of variability into it, five *tattva*-s are put in, each bound to a particular *mahābhūta*, from *pṛthivī* to *ākāśa* (10). Through punctual observation it is possible to determine which principle is prevailing in the breath. Generally it is considered auspicious if the committer approaches the diviner from the same side in which for him the *svara* is active, and the opposed condition is deemed inauspicious. A twofold rhythm is described: the first a circadian one, based on alternance of breath in the two nostrils, the second a monthly one, based on alternance of one of the five *tattva*-s in the breath. The system so obtained shows a wide range of possibilities and allows the specialist to vary his answers according to the different situations under examination.

Further techniques regard the examination of various mental or bodily signs of the committer, generally signs of death (*arīṣṭa*), and as such common to medical literature. See e.g. ŚSv 337-350, 362-369.

A third kind of analysis is based on the examination of a raised after-image, generically known as *chāyā* 'shadow' (11), but really more probably a case of persistence of an image previously observed, with its complementary colours (ŚSv 351-361). This

(?) See e.g. Narapati, *Narapatījyecāryāśvarodaya*, Khem Raj Sh. Krishan Dass, Bombay 1956; Dugar Hira Lal, *Shakunavijñāna*, Prachina Bharatiya Sahitya Prakashan, Delhi 1968; S.M. Vaidya, *Pranavopasana* [Marathī], Tukaram Book Depot, Bombay 1975; C.D. Bijalvan, *Hindu Omens*, n.p. (Delhi?), n.d. (1977?); Sharad Velenkar, *Śiva Svārodaya Śāstra* [Sanskrit text and Marathī transl.], Institute of Parapsychology, Bombay 1979; Ram Kumar Rai, *Śhiva Svārodaya, text with English Translation by...*, Prachya Prakashan, Tantra Granthamala No. 1, Varanasi 1980; A. Daniélou, *Le Śhiva-Svārodaya, La naissance du Souffle de Vie relevé par le dieu Śhiva, Ancien Traité de Présages et Prémonitions d'après le souffle vital, traduit du Sanskrit par...*, Préface de Jean Varenne, Milano 1982; Swami Sivapriyananda, *Secret Power of Tantric Breathing*, Delhi 1983; Swami Muktibodhananda Saraswati (under the guidance of Swami Satyananda Saraswati), *Śvara Yoga, the Tantric Science of Brain Breathing, Including the original Sanskrit text of the Śhiva Svārodaya with translation in English*, Bihar School of Yoga, Munger (Bihar), 1st Australian ed. 1983, 1st Indian ed. 1984.

(10) They are not qualitatively identical to the *mahābhūta*-s of the *sāṅkhya* school, and represent rather an attempt of pentadic classification of different breath-sensations. See e.g. ŚSv 4; *Prapañcasūtratantva* II 24, 57-58; *Śivasambitā* I 69-77, II 3; Kālicaraṇa's comm. *ad Śaṭcakraṇirūpaṇa* 39; *Gberaṇḍasambitā* III 68-81, V 33-45.

(11) The large range of different meanings covered by the words 'shade' and 'shadow' offers a further motive of reflection to our difficulty in translating into English technical Sanskrit terms. In

particular model, which is somehow foreshadowed in ŚP V 25.17-19, will be discussed *infra*.

Aim of this practice is not only to examine the possibilities of success or defeat with regard to a specific enterprise (be it the birth of a child, the date of departure for a business tour, etc.), but also to put in act a series of devices to counteract bad omens, and to corroborate good ones. It is not simply a system of divination into which the future is considered as inescapable, but essentially a probabilistical evaluation of events, trying to modify their course at one's own advantage.

The characters that play on this stage are usually two: the consulter (*prcchaka*), i.e. he who puts in questions in the system, and the diviner (*svarodayavid*), i.e. he who puts out answers out of it. Sometimes a third kind of role is played by the 'messenger' (*dūta*), a sort of intermediary between the two main stars of the play. His characteristics are, by a process of *transfert*, related to the effective conditions of the *prcchaka* who is for some reason (illness etc.) not able to be himself personally examined by the *svarodayavid*. For parallels of the role of a *dūta* in medical literature see e.g. CS V.XII 9-24, 65-70.

The *svarodayavid* listens to the *prcchaka*'s question. Then he examines his own

fact 'shade' means at least: (1) a comparative darkness or obscurity owing to interception of the rays of light, the partial or relative darkness caused by the intervention of an opaque body between the space contemplated and the source of light, the absence of complete illumination; (2) relative obscurity or retirement; (3) cover provided by the intervention of an opaque body between the space contemplated and the source of light, especially shelter from the sun provided by tree foliage; (4) a spot not exposed to sunlight, a place sheltered from the sun, a secluded retreat, a retired spot, (5) the figure appearing on the part of a surface from which light is cut off; (6) an evanescent or unreal appearance, something that has become reduced almost to nothing; (7) pl. the growing darkness after sunset; (8) pl. the abode of the dead or of disembodied spirits, (9) the soul after its separation from body, the form of a dead person usually held to be perceptible to the sight although not to the touch; (10) something that shades, intercepts or shelters from light or the direct rays of the sun; (11) the reproduction of the effect of shade in painting or drawing; (12) a colour produced by a pigment or dye mixture having some black pigment or dye in it; (13) a minute difference or variation as of thought, belief or expression, etc. The same is true for 'shadow', whose basic meanings are as follows. (1) comparative darkness or shade between defined bonds; (2) a reflected image as in a mirror or in water; (3) a protecting cover as of wings; (4) an imperfect and faint representation, an indistinct image; (5) an unreal appearance, a delusive vision, (6) an imitation of something; (7) the image made by an obscured space on a surface that cuts across it, usually representing in silhouette the form of the interposed body; (8) a spiritual apparition, a spectral form; (9) pl. shaded parts of sky and landscape merging so as to bring on darkness; (10) a shaded or darker portion of a picture usually representing the less illuminated portions of the original; (11) an attenuated form, a vestigial remnant; (12) a person held to resemble a shadow as a result of extreme emaciation, (13) one that follows or attends like a shadow, an inseparable companion or follower; (14) a small degree or portion, etc. Incidentally we may note that Skt. *chāyā* is etimologically quite near to Engl. 'shine' (cf. Greek *αἶα, αἰνῶ*), meaning properly the brightness caused by the emission or reflection of light, a kind of brilliance of quality or appearance, somehow a sort of 'splendid shadow'. See e.g. *Webster's Third New International English Dictionary*, unabridged, Chicago 1971 (1909), and *The Oxford English Dictionary*, Oxford 1961 (1933), s.vv. 'shade', 'shadow', 'shine'.

svara situation to see auspicious or bad omens in it. In the case in which a *dūta* interferes the exterior signs of this last character are taken into account. Or the direction from which the *dūta* comes is put in reference to the collocation of the *svara* in the *svarodayavid*, and to the *tattva* prevailing in it. So generally the *svarodayavid* relates the examination of his own *svara* to the specific *prcchaka*'s (or *dūta*'s) questions.

But sometimes the examination regards quite strangely the same *prcchaka*'s *svara*. In this case the *svarodayavid* is supposed to scrutinize his *prcchaka* to detect his conditions of breath flow ⁽¹²⁾.

As we have so far examined the general characteristics of the practices outlined in ŚSv, and indicated some possible parallels with puranic and medical literature, we can now turn to a quite peculiar technique described in the text, the one regarding the examination of the 'shadow' (*chāyā*, see ŚSv 351-361). The text runs as follows:

Now I will expound briefly that science through which it is possible to predict the time of death, also if remote, as it is mentioned in the *śaiva* tradition (351).

Gained a secluded place devoid of people the devotee must sit with the sun behind himself to observe his own shadow, concentrating on the region of neck (352).

Then he must turn the gaze upon the sky after having repeated *brhm parabrahmane namaḥ* 108 times. So he will obtain the vision of God Śaṅkara (353).

Hara will appear as an extremely pure crystal, with many forms. Into six months of this practice the devotee will become master over all people living on earth. Into two years he will become doer and destroyer, master over himself (354).

Due to an uninterrupted exercise of this practice he will obtain the knowledge of the three times (past, present and future) and the supreme beatitude. Nothing will be unattainable for him (355).

The ascetic who, being the sky unsullied, will see the aforesaid form (*rūpa*) as black will surely die into six months (356).

If the image is yellow it is sign of illness, if red of fear, if blue of destruction, if of various colours he will be praised as a great ascetic, endowed with *siddhi*-s (357).

If in the image the foot, the ankle or the abdomen or the arm disappear he will surely die (358).

If the left arm disappears his wife will die no doubt. If the right one his relatives will die, and he himself into one month (359).

If the image is bereft of head death will come into one month, into eight days if it is bereft of legs or shoulders, immediate if the entire shadow disappears (360).

The man who in the morning with the sun behind his back does not see in the shadow the fingers and the lips dies in a moment, and in half the time if he cannot see in the shadow his whole figure. In half a moment also he dies if he does not see ears, hands, sides and thorax. If he is unable to orient himself [literally: unconscious of the quarters of space] and due to lack of head in the shade he will live six months (361).

⁽¹²⁾ This is generally the case (see e.g. ŚSv 254) when the result of a battle is the question on the table. The examination can be extended to a particularly complex case, in which the two opponents (*sthēyin*, *yēyin*) and possibly a couple of *svarodayavid*-s, each devoted to one of them, enter into the scene.

The *prcchaka* (maybe here *sādhaka* could be a better term) after having chosen a lonely place sits down with the sun behind his back, choosing the more suited moment of the day so that his own shadow is projected in front of him. He concentrates his attention on the neck region of the shade, and repeats 108 times a *mantra*. This will occupy approximately 3 seconds for 108 = 5 minutes and 24 seconds, i.e. 5½ minutes. Then he turns his gaze on the sky. Now the desired vision will appear.

It does not seem awkward if we try to explain this process as being due to the phenomenon of the persistence of after-images referred to in Part III of this paper. The subject staring at his own shadow on the ground is in a condition of intensity of light such as he can perceive the double vision, the scotopic one (mediated by the rods) and the photopic one (mediated by the cones). Due to the fact that perception of light follows with a certain inertia the photic stimulus it is possible that a positive after-image come into being, followed by a negative one. In fact when the subject turns his gaze towards the sky (practically homologous to a white screen) the image that was perceived first appears with its complementary colours. The fact that this previous image (as its counterpart as complementary after-image) is of various colours may be explained remembering that quite likely the ground on which the shadow is projected is adorned with coloured *maṇḍala*-s and *yantra*-s. The transparency of shadow permits that the forms and colours of these geometrical drawings (in strong contrast with the surrounding zone, exposed to the full light of the sun) could be perceived, also if somehow subdued. Shifting the gaze on the cloudless sky the negative after-image with its complementary colours will be visible for a certain lapse of time.

From the characteristics of the after-image it will be possible to argue the period of life-time available. The term *chāyā* is bound to the period in which the devotee fixes his gaze on his own shadow projected on the ground. The image appearing in the sky is called *rūpa*, showing thus its difference from what is properly told shadow (*chāyā*). This *rūpa* is a virtual image, not corresponding to any object really in contact with the visual organ during the time of its perception, but engendered by the persistence of the after-image of an object really perceived immediately before. Such a practice is known as *chāyopāsana* 'ritual evocation of the shadow'.

V

As we have perused (aided by ŚSv 351-361) a seemingly obscure technique foreshadowed in ŚP V 25.17-19, it is now proper to ask ourselves whether it is possible to find a theoretical model useful to explain the rationality underlying the complex system of relations that forms the basis of all Indian divinatory techniques.

The mental proceedings that found the science of mantics are centred round the concept of *karman*. This is the mean employed to leave out the chance from the net of events, thereby allowing for the most accurate precision in the predictions. In the

Indian perspective the so-called particular facts are never casual, aleatory ones. All is foreseeable, all is rational, only it is necessary to have a key to perceive the entire plot. Divination is not an attempt to interpret and successively rationalize facts that *per se* are casual. On the contrary, it is the discovery of a deciphering code. This code, by using a system of analogies and correspondences, discloses the working of the law of retribution of acts.

A first parallel to this kind of model is to be found in the *mokṣasāstra*-s of the various non-dualistic soteriological schools. Here (with the obvious differences between e.g. a 'philosophical' school as *kevalādvaitavāda* and a theistic one as the various *śaiva* non-dualistic trends: *pratyabhijñā*, *kaula*, etc.) *mukti* is conceived not as the conquest of a new perfect condition, by means of an ascetic or gnostic effort, but rather as a discovery, a recognition (*pratyabhijñā*) of an estate of fullness and autonomy (*kaivalya*, *svātantrya*) existing from eternity and forever, but somehow veiled in the ordinary conscience of the common man.

In the same way the ability to predict future events can be considered not as a voluntaristic attempt, but rather as the accurate reading of the basic data of an inferential reasoning (*pakṣa*). These data if lighted by a sign (*liṅga*) contained in them inevitably will lead to the discover of a not immediately evident reality, i.e. the desired knowledge (*sādhya*).

In soteriological terms the *pakṣa* is the bound condition (*baddha*), the *liṅga* is offered by the authoritative text (*śabda*), and the *sādhya* is the *mukti*. In divinatory terms the *pakṣa* is the sum of the conditions of the *prcchaka*, the *liṅga* the sum of the techniques owned by the *svarodayavid* and the *sādhya* is the future result of the start-situation (and of the symptoms contained in it, symptoms that become *liṅga* only when read to the light of the knowledge of the *svarodayavid*) of the *prcchaka*.

So the value of the sign to be interpreted is rather iconic than symbolic. And the presage is therefore offered by regular or irregular events, i.e. events conformable or not conformable to the normal cosmic order. It is not as in the Greek or the Latin world, where the omen is always a *τέρας*, a *prodigium*, something that is out of the normal cosmic order.

The 'regular' signs will be given by a particular physiological configuration of the breath in one of the two nostrils, with the predominance of this or that *tattva*. They have a positive or negative effect, but this may always be modified or at least avoided. The effect is actually determined by *vāsanā*-s which are strong enough as to be perceived and manifest themselves, but not so strong as if they could not possibly be influenced or counteracted.

On the other hand the 'irregular' signs will be given by a pathological configuration of the breath. Essentially they comprehend the *śūnyasvara*, i.e. the breath flowing in *suṣumnā* (for a period longer than that of alternance between the two nostrils), with the predominance of a particularly inauspicious *tattva* like *ākāśa*. They have always a negative effect, and are determined by *vāsanā*-s so strong and ripe that it is not possible to counteract them anyhow or anymore.

In this field we may comprehend also the signs of death (*ariṣṭa*) detected by analysing the bodily or mental characteristics of the *dūta* or the *prccbaka* ⁽¹³⁾.

So it appears that somehow the complex and difficult work of standardization and deciphering of different classes of signs (e.g. *svara*-type and *ariṣṭa*-type) into an organic corpus, epistemologically well grounded (through the aid of the *karman* theory), must be considered as successful in Indian mantics.

⁽¹³⁾ If we look for a counterpart of the distinction of regular and irregular signs in the divisions of various types of *karman* in *śaiva* schools it is possible to see a partial overlapping with the triadic division of *dṛṣṭaṇmabbogya*, *adṛṣṭaṇmabbogya* and *nyatakālabhogya*, where roughly irregular signs correspond to *dṛṣṭa*°, regular ones to *nyatakāla*°. For a brief presentation of this division see e.g. *Śaivāgama-paribhāṣamāñjarī* 3.24-26 (= *Pauskarāgama* 4.248a, 249-250, 248b). For the other important distinction, that between *prārabdhakarmaṇ*, *sañcita*° and *āgāmiṇ*° see e.g. *Śaivāgama-paribhāṣamāñjarī* 3.30; *Kiraṇāgama*, *vidyāpāda* 6.19 (partially *cit.* in Kṣemarāja's comm. *ad Śivasūtra* III 25); *Tantrāloka* IX 124b-134a and XIII 237, *Matanḡapārameśvarāgama*, *vidyāpāda*, *pāṭala* 10

Temple, Religion and Society

by A K. ANANTHANATHAN

Introduction

One of the better known festivals of South India and Sri Lanka is the festival held in Mavaikathan temple in Northern Sri Lanka. Climaxing on the fifth day after the new moon of the Hindu month of Aani corresponding to June 15th and extending up to the new moon Aadi July 15th-August 15th. This historically famous temple festival has attracted considerable scholarly attention from historians, but not from anthropologists. What I want to present in this paper is a descriptive interpretation of the Mavaikathan temple. This interpretation is an attempt at a theoretical application of Émile Durkheim's 'Collective representations' theory. My goals for this paper are threefold; first I would argue that Temple, God, People are related expression of Émile Durkheim's collective representations. This is the overall thesis of this paper. Secondly, describe the annual temple festivals and the history and myth of the temple. And finally, I will try to relate the first and second sections to arrive at God form of Tamil identity and their social solidarity.

Before we go into the study of the Mavaikathan temple, we will briefly examine interpretative anthropology and Émile Durkheim's collective representations theory. Human beings are thought of as culture bearing animals because they have acquired the capacity for symbolic thought. Among the varied cultures that have developed in the evolution of humanity, there have been an awesome variety of concepts and beliefs through which humans have sought to communicate their experiences of the outer world and of their inner psychological states.

To communicate the complexities of experience, each individual resorts to symbolic means of representation. These symbols are not invented *sui generis* but emerge progressively as the infant, then the child, and finally the adult partakes of the culturally transmitted collective representation of the particular group. In this sense, symbolism must be understood socially as well as personally, and is what Durkheim (1912) and his followers have called 'collective representations' ⁽¹⁾. At the same time an

⁽¹⁾ G.A. De Vos & L.B. Boyer, *Symbolic Analysis Cross-Culturally. The Rorschach Test*, Berkeley 1989, p. 7

individual's thought is related to the available inner experiences of his or her own bodily processes as his or her psychophysiological functioning matures. Each person gradually learns to provide communicable representations of his or her inner states of pain, anxiety and pleasure. The culturally available collective representations are necessary for social continuity. They are not only available in the ephemera of verbal or gestual interchange, but are embedded in forms of art, enacted in religious rituals, and embodied in myths and cosmologies, that is to say in 'expressive culture' (2).

According to Durkheim religious phenomena are naturally arranged into two fundamental categories: beliefs and rites, states of opinion, and consist in representations, and determined modes of action. Between these two classes of facts there is all the difference which separates thought from action. Sacred things are those which the interdictions protect and isolate, profane things those to which these interdictions are applied and which must remain at a distance from the first. Religious beliefs are the representations which express the nature of sacred things and the relations which they sustain either with each other or with profane things. Rites are the rules of conduct which prescribe how a man should comport himself in the presence of these sacred objects (3).

Background

On the northernmost seaside of the island of Sri Lanka in the ancient city of Yalpanam, more recently known as Jaffna, there is a town named Kankesanturai. 'Kovitkadavai' (4) was the name of the section of the city which was made up of three important villages of Maviddapuram, Kankesanturai and Keerimalai. History records that in the 7th century, a Chola Princess, while on a pilgrimage undertaken to get cured of a lingering intestinal disorder, arrived at the seaside resort of Keerimalai, famous for its healing springs. The princess took a plunge prayer, fully in the fresh water springs just near the brackish waters of the narrow Palk Strait. The story goes on to narrate how the Princess to her utter but pleasant surprise, found that not only did her dyspeptic disorders vanish as if by magic, but that her facial abnormality, a likeness to a horse's head had changed and recovered human shape. As a result she resolved to consecrate a temple as a lasting reminder of this rare spiritual experience she had enjoyed. The result was the founding of the Kandaswamy Temple at Maviddapuram, now known as the Mavai Kanthan shrine.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 3.

(3) W.A. Lessa & E. Vogt, *Reader in Comparative Religion. An Anthropological Approach*, 1979, p. 28.

(4) Kandiah, *Mavai Pillai Tamil*, 1967, p. 19.

Some of the Important Festivals

On Anni Uttaram they raise the temple flag. This flag raising day is the first day of the festival. On this day Maviddapuram temple is crowded with devotees who fast on the twenty five days and end their fast only when the flag is put down. A special police service is provided by the government to control the traffic as well as the crimes. Rich people use this nice opportunity and provide meals to the poor people in the temple *madam* (inn). This kind of free meal is called '*anna thanam*'.

The second important festival is the 10th day festival of *Manjam*. On this day the *sapparam* (a small chariot), decorated with yellow flowers and yellow leaves takes Lord Murukan and goes around the *prabaram* (out road). The other important and attractive ceremony starts on the 18th day of the festival. It is called the *Karthikai* festival. During this occasion there are many different kinds of *kavadi* dances keeping pace with the music of *Nathaswaram* and *Thavil*. This ceremony takes place at noon time and the devotees make *mavillaku* (a small lamp with the mixture of wheat, honey and water) and light the *villaku*. At noon the image of Lord Murukan is carried by the male devotees around the three *prabarams*. In the night the images of Pillaiyar, Murukan, Sandeswarar are carried around the outer *prabaram* by a decorated chariot. The decoration of the chariot is artistic one must have a special skill to do that.

The third important ceremony is the hunting festival on the 22nd day. During this festival they take the image of Lord Murukan to the nearby village temple called the Tellippalai Durga Amman Temple. There Lord Murukan goes hunting. The fourth important ceremony is the *periya sappara* festival (big chariot festival). This is on the 24th day of the festival. This huge chariot is decorated by flowers and edges of the chariot are decorated with electric bulbs. The image of Lord Murukan is adorned with flowers, jewels and garlands.

The 24th day is called the *Ther Thiruvilla* (the car festival). On this special day the inside and outside of the temple are filled with devotees anxiously waiting for the procession of five chariots adorned with clothes. Five images are taken to the chariot one by one in the order of Vikneswar, Kandasamy, Sandrashekar (Shiva), Shanmugar (another form of Murukan) and Sandeswarar. Many business people put small stalls on both sides of the *prabaram* (outside).

The 25th day of the festival is the well-known crowning ceremony of *Adi Amavasai Theertham*. This takes place at the confluence of the holy springs of Keerimalai and the placid waters of the Palk Strait. During this festival day the *Panja Murthies* (five images) are taken to Keerimalai. Then the following day those images are taken back to the Maviddapuram temple. The final ceremony of this festival is to put down the flag.

Another significant occasion in special reference to the worship of Lord Skantha is the *Skanthasbasti* — a six-day fast Penance and Prayer, occurring during the month of Aippasi (October-November). There is also a weekly special feature — Friday Pooja, a festival that is always attended by more than five hundred worshippers.

The festivals are necessarily affected by the economic and political situation. The present economic position of this area is depressed, and the area has been affected by ravaging floods and political struggle. Because of these circumstances between 1984 and 1990 the annual high festivals of this temple were not held.

Humans live in the world of time but look forward to transcending time and participating in the world of gods. Everything in this world is characterised by finitude, and therefore the human desire is to enter into that state of existence beyond time, the so-called sacred time ⁽²⁾. For this purpose man creates mythological time in which he brings god down from the sacred time while he himself ascends from the ordinary time. Festivals are celebrations in which humans enter into this sacred time. Humans also need sacred space. Sacred space is the space considered to be the centre of the world where celebrations and festivals take place ⁽⁶⁾. Sacred spaces are often related to events, mythological or historical. Thus Mount Moera where Abraham prepared his sacrifice of Isaac was considered to be such a space. So also Sinai in relation to Moses, Mecca in relation to Mohammed, Calvary in relation to Jesus and so on. For the Hindus the temple is an arrangement of sacred space. For the one who celebrates the festival the sacred space is no longer ordinary space. It is the space in which one comes in touch with god, he moves from this world to the other world and participates in the life of god. A festival is thus man's entry into the divine rhythm of life at least for a moment, forgetting his ordinary life, its pains and tears. Hindu festivals, like many other festivals in the world, are centered around a triangle of myth, cult and celebration.

The Hindu festival is generally known as *utsava*. The word *utsava* means 'to go upwards' ⁽⁷⁾. The one who celebrates the festival goes upwards from the sound of sin, death and darkness. Hence what is really celebrated is liberation, the salvation obtained. This celebration may include:

1. The remembrance of the unfortunate state of man, by ceremonially killing Surapadman (demon) and destroying his reign, so as to free people from evil.
2. Rites of expiation to atone for our sins because the present state is considered as a punishment for our own *karma* (action). Hence vigils (*jagarana*) and fasting (*upavasa*).
3. The appearance of the deliverer God: Lord Murukan comes as old man to marry Valli. Real *utsava* (festival) is the liberation of mankind which is celebrated. A Hindu festival is considered to be a means of celebration (*sadbhava*) centered around the reality (*sat*), (*utsava*-festival) through his union with the Divine.

The classical definition of *sadbhava* is *anena sadbhyate iti sashbana* that by which

⁽²⁾ M. Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane*, New York 1957, p. 81.

⁽⁶⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

⁽⁷⁾ *Satapata Brahmana*, VII 2,4.



Fig. 1 - A View of
Mavaikanthan Temple.

something is made possible is a *sadhana*. Seen from this perspective the whole festival is a *sadhana*, a *sadhana* of *utsava* (festival), namely a means for liberation. The chief elements of the *sadhana* are: *upavasavrita* the vow of fasting and *Jagranna* (vigil). By *sat* is meant reality in all its dimensions. Primarily reality is God who manifested himself in manifold forms. So the festival will be centered around any of these forms of God. Murukan has various *avataras*. The *vel* or Valli are considered to be examples.

Reality also can be embodied in a king or a godly person. Reality is also considered, a condition of being one with nature. The word *sat* includes God, man and nature, and a festival or celebration intergrates all three. *Utsava* (festival) literally means

elevation and is understood as the supreme bliss (*ananda*) to which man aspires. This bliss is not to be obtained at the expense of everything else, but it certainly demands the re-establishment of proper harmony and rhythm. Therefore *utsava* (festival) or celebration is celebration of man's union with reality.

History and Myth

In order to establish the history of this temple we first of all need to know how and when the northern part of the island of Sri Lanka came under the influence of the South Indian kings who established the Tamil culture and Hindu religious tradition in the northern part of the island of Sri Lanka. In the early part of the 9th century, a king called Varagunapandiyan ruled Madurai in South India. He had an ambition to capture the whole island of Sri Lanka. In order to fulfil his ambition the king with his army landed in the northern part of the island and defeated a Sinhalese king before returning to South India. Before this battle the northern part of Sri Lanka had been under Sinhalese kings. There is a verse about this battle involving Varagunapandiyan called '*Manneraliya manttidar venran*' which is found in a book called *Irayanaragapporul* ⁽⁶⁾. In this verse Jaffna is called 'Mannattidar' or 'Mannatri'. The name 'Mannatri' is also mentioned in the historical book *Yalpana Vaibavamalai* ⁽⁷⁾. Jaffna was called Valigama or 'sandy place' by the Sinhalese. Today the Jaffna peninsula is divided into four civil districts: Valigamam, Vadamarachchi, Thenmarachchi and Pachchilaipalai.

After the victory of Varagunapandiyan in the northern part of the island, this area gradually became separated from the rest of the island. In the early part of the 10th century a Chola king called Parandagacholan I invaded Sri Lanka landing first in the harbour of Kayts (Urkavattthurai) and fought the Sinhalese king at the *Vallavarkoon pulam* ⁽¹⁰⁾ (the present Maviddapuram Temple area). In this battle Parandagacholan defeated the Sinhalese king. By the 10th century, the first stage of Tamil settlements was completed and since that time the Tamil culture has continued in the northern part of Sri Lanka.

A more legendary narrative centers on a Chola princess called Maruthapuraviga Valli who is given credit for building this huge temple at Maviddapuram. The word 'Maviddapuram' in Tamil means 'horse-remove place', a place in which Maruthapuraviga Valli recovered from her horse's head ⁽¹¹⁾. In her previous birth Maruthapuraviga Valli was the daughter, named Kanagasundari, of a Kalinga king. When she was young

⁽⁶⁾ V. Tambipillai, *History of Maviddapuram Kandaswamy Temple*, Forward, 1989.

⁽⁷⁾ *Ibid*

⁽¹⁰⁾ *Ibid*.

⁽¹¹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

she made several pilgrimages to holy places and holy rivers. During this period she had a bath in the river called Tambiravarni near the mountain Podikai, where a sage called Ayakriva was performing his *yaga* (a ritual). Kanagasundari laughed at the way he performed the *yaga*. The sage got angry and cursed her to be reborn with a horse head and dyspeptic disorders. Kanagasundari bowed to the sage and asked him to forgive her misbehaviour. The sage, as *prayachita* (remote), asked her to go to northern Sri Lanka and worship Lord Murukan ⁽¹²⁾.

Kanagasundari was later born as Maruthapuraviga Valli, the daughter of a Chola king called Ukraperuvaluthi. She was born with the horse head and the dyspeptic disorder. The king and the queen worried about their daughter's dyspepsia and her physical deformity. While worrying about their daughter, they heard through an oracle that they should have holy bath in both a sea and a river. So they made arrangements for a long pilgrimage for their daughter, accompanied by the army and the others. She had many baths in the many rivers and the sea of South India, hoping to cure her. During this time she happened to meet a sannyasi called Shanthalingam and he advised her to go to the northern part of Sri Lanka, to a place called Naguleswaram, (present Keerimalai) and asked her to have a bath there. First she mistakenly went to Kathirkamam, and she had a bath in the Manikaganga and worshipped Lord Murukan in Kathirkamam. While she was worshipping she heard an oracle saying that this was not the place to cure her disease, and asked her to go to the northern part of Sri Lanka. On the advice of the oracle the princess came to Naguleswaram (Keerimalai) and had a bath every day. As a result of this she fully recovered from her disease ⁽¹³⁾.

During her stay in Keerimalai she used to have a walk to nearby villages. One day she made a visit to a place called *Kovit Kadavai* (now called Maviddapuram), which was described as a green land with many groves. She happened to see an old man named Sadayan under the bo-tree, worshipping the God Murukan by lighting a lamp. From that old man the princess came to know the history of that holy spot. The princess was so taken by the story of that old man about the grace of God Murukan that she decided to build a temple with black stone, and told the old man about her decision. The old man agreed.

The next day the princess sent a letter to her father saying that she would like to build a temple for Lord Murukan and asked him to send the image and the other necessary things from the Chola country. So her father willingly fulfilled his daughter's request and sent all the necessary things to build the temple. The image of Lord Murukan was sent by ship. The temple was built under the supervision of Maruthapuraviga Valli. She made a *kumbhabhisheka* (opening ceremony of the temple) in accordance with agamic tradition. She also allocated cultivated land for the support of the temple both in Sri Lanka and in South India. The temple continued to be

⁽¹²⁾ *Ibid* , p. 16.

⁽¹³⁾ *Ibid* , p 16

maintained by the royal families, and the 'pujaries' or priests were supplied from South India ⁽¹⁴⁾.

It is well known that during the Chola rule in Sri Lanka (10th-12th centuries) a lot of Hindu temples were built in many parts of the country, probably evidence of the presence of Tamil settler communities in many areas. There are three Siva temples of great antiquity, and these enable us to make reasonable inferences regarding Tamil settlements in the early centuries of the Christian era. Thirukethiswaram at Mantota, Konesvaram at Trincomalee, and Siva temple at Polanaruwa are mentioned in early Tamil literature as famous Saiva centres which attracted pilgrims from South India ⁽¹⁵⁾.

Hinduism in the northern part of Sri Lanka has a more or less continuous history from the time of the earliest history or the earliest Sinhalese colonization of the island. Hindu ideas are closely linked with Sri Lankan Buddhism, and Hindu and Buddhist centres coexisted throughout history in many parts of the country. There were also many Tamil settlements throughout the history where popular forms of Hindu worship were widely practiced. Under Chola occupation of the 10th-13th centuries Hinduism received new impetus, and the magnificent edifices of this period are evidence of their patronage. During this period Hinduism was raised to the position of the official religion in a part of the island and enjoyed all the perquisites of establishment ⁽¹⁶⁾. In the 14th century the northern part of Sri Lanka came under the Arya dynasty. The Arya dynasty of Jaffna, because of its connection with Ramesvaram, a great centre of South Indian Saivism, was deeply conscious of its duty as the patron of Hinduism in Sri Lanka. The Arya rulers made Hinduism a vital force in this part of the country, Hinduism became the major religion in the north and the east, just as Buddhism was in the rest of the island.

In the 16th century with the arrival of the Portuguese several Saiva shrines, including the ancient temple at Mavaikanthan, were razed to the ground. Christianity began to spread all over the island, as the Portuguese forcefully converted the people. When the Portuguese were about to destroy the Mavaikanthan temple, the image of Lord Murukan was taken by the temple priests and hidden under the water of the temple well. Most of the smaller images were destroyed by the Portuguese. Later the temple was further destroyed by the Dutch rulers. It is said that both the Portuguese and Dutch discouraged Hindu worshippings, but worshippings in this temple continued as the Hindu women used to go to this temple at midnight. A somewhat higher patch in the history dawned when the British arrived in the 19th century. The British Governor was helpful and allowed the reconstruction of this ruined shrine. Since then

⁽¹⁴⁾ *Ibid*, p. 16.

⁽¹⁵⁾ S. Arasaratnam, *Ceylon*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1964, p. 112.

⁽¹⁶⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

the temple has been growing in importance, providing for all religious ceremonies as well as social and cultural activities.

The images for this historic temple were brought from South India by sea and to a port in close proximity to Keerimalai, known then as *Kayathurai*. That port is now called 'Kankesanthurai' because it is the place where the image of Kankeyan (another name of Lord Murukan) first arrived at this place ⁽¹⁷⁾.

Today this temple is situated on almost twentytwo acres of land. It is a pleasing complex with the *sanctum sanctorum* at the centre, the Raja Gopuram or royal gateway, the tallest and most picturesque of its kind in this district, the shrines in the *prabarams*, or walkways, the flower garden where fragrant plants grow in delightful abundance, the spacious hall for ceremonial occasions, pilgrim rests and *madams* (inn). All these buildings, however, do not satisfy the modern requirements. During times of flood, distress, epidemic and other abnormal circumstances, such as the recent fighting among Sri Lankan army, the Indian army, and the Tamil militants, large numbers of people seek shelter in the temple. Devotees in their performance of religious rites, ceremonies such as initiation, the ceremonial starting of the studies of children, the first feeding of infants, the wearing of the golden thread (*thali*) in holy wedlock, all involve a gathering in large numbers in these premises, because of the antiquity and the priority of place this temple has among places of worship.

Analysis

Three thousand years ago, in the territories of India where the Tamils held sway, two thousand years ago in the kingdoms of the Chera, Chola and Pandyan kings of South India, and down the ages to date, the worship of Murukan has continued to find an honoured place in the annals of the Tamils.

There is ample evidence in the literature and archaeological findings of South India and Sri Lanka to prove the antiquity of the Murukan cult, and even today, one often hears from all quarters, the supplication to Lord Murukan. His name is on the lips of those who suffer and those who enjoy life, those engaged in war or peace. The old man full of reminiscences, the young woman nestling her baby in her arms, the youth at the threshold of life's adventures, the growing child playing on the sands of time — all chant the holy name of Murukan and invoke his protection in the manifold drama of life.

This age of Kaliyuga is believed to be an era of eventful change, when the 'ego' of man exerts its maximum potency, and destructive forces gain supremacy over the powers of truth and goodness. The Deity of this Kaliyuga is God Murukan-Kaliyuga Varathan — whose weapon the Lance (*vel*), symbol of victory, pierces the fearful gloom

(17) V Tambipillai, *History of Maviddapuram Kandaswamy Temple*, Forward, 1989.

that envelops humanity. The holy name of Murukan fans the flame of spiritual love in the hearts of men and women, the victorious and the vanquished, and renews man's faith in the sanctity of existence on earth and in the strength of the forces of good represented by the Devas. Cevvel or Seyon as he was known to the ancient Tamils, and remembered today as Murukan and Kandasamy, reveals his living reality in the hearts of his devotees, who testify by their fervent *sadhana*, the depth of their piety to this God of love and valour. They hail Him as the manifestation of the supreme Siva. Murukan's mission was to save the Devas from the terror of the Asuras, and point the way of everlasting joy to His devotees on earth.

The cult of Murukan seems to have had its beginning even before the Vedic age. The myths connected with Skanda-Murukan are of no age. 'Murukan' is a great name in Tamil literature and culture. It means fragrance, youth, divinity and beauty. The Hindu Testament of Wisdom is enshrined in the cult of Murukan. From the effulgent eye of Siva was begotten Kumara-Murukan, the eternal child of light, the incarnate wisdom of the ages. Lord Murukan is the embodiment of the everlasting fragrance of life, the symphony of Beauty, Truth and Love. Murukan is the Lord of great 'name' and 'fame' in Tamil culture.

Murukan, the Divine child, is depicted in this Testament of Wisdom as a power, seen and unseen, known and unknown, in whom are amalgamated legends and traditions, many aspects of religion and modes of worship, primitive and advanced. He embodies the Hindu ideal of God imminent in all things and manifesting Himself in diverse forms — as the Divine Guru, God of sacrifice, leader of the powers of righteousness, Devas, seers and sages, God of war and peace, the source of wisdom and grace, and above all, the magnetic lover, the child of love and light.

It is an accepted fact that there is a power behind all the manifested forms of this universe. There should be a power to dispense the fruits of our actions. Attuning our mind to that power (Godhead) with love is called *bhakti* or devotion.

The Infinite is beyond name and form. And yet, out of boundless grace, it assumes countless names and forms to suit the needs of souls. With whatever name, and in whatever form they call on the Infinite, it is pleased to reveal itself to them with just such names and in such forms. Indeed, even when its existence is denied, it is verily the power behind the denial.

As form, as without form, as existent, as non-existent,
As fragrance, as flower, as gem, as radiance
As foetus, as life, as the path, as the goal
Come, oh Preceptor! Grant thy grace oh Guga! ⁽¹⁸⁾

⁽¹⁸⁾ V A. Devasenapathi, *Kandar Alankaram*, Madras 1975, p. 63. (*Kandaranubbuti*, v. 51)

This is the prayer of Saint Arunagirinathar to the Infinite, whom he loved to worship as Murukan, a great name of rare excellence in Tamil culture.

The words Muruku and Murukan seem to have been in currency from very early times. Tamil scholars say that the worship of Murukan must have been in a developed state at the time of *Tolkappiyam*, which is considered to be the earliest Tamil grammar now extant. It speaks of Mayon (Vishnu), Seyon (Murukan), Vendan (Indra) and Varunan as the gods presiding over *mullai* (forest regions), *kurinji* (hilly regions), *marudam* (agricultural tracts) and *neydal* (coastal regions). *Palai* or desert is these regions deteriorating in their nature during drought or hot weather. The presiding deity for *palai* is Korravai (Durga). Apart from the geographical aspect, there is, for these regions in Tamil culture, a psychological aspect too. Thus the corresponding psychological planes are *iruttal* (bearing separation from the lover with patience), *punardal* (union), *udal* (love quarrel), *irangal* (bemoaning absence) and *piridal* (separation). These psychological planes have significance not only in respect of human love but also in respect of bridal mysticism (*nayaki-nayaka bhava*). Though the word Siva does not occur in the *Tolkappiyam*, Seyon, may also be understood in the sense of son of Siva, the name Siva being reserved for the transcendent and over all aspect of Supreme Reality, covering all the regions, and not merely some of them.

If hilly regions were places of the earliest human inhabitation, worship of Seyon or Murukan might be taken to mark worship in its earliest phase. Whatever the antiquity of worship as such, let us consider the meaning of Muruku or Murukan. These words stand for fragrance, youth, divinity and beauty. Though Murukan was associated chiefly with the hilly regions, He is really the Supreme one worshipped in the different regions under different names. Hence we may take it that Seyon or Murukan is the Supreme one worshipped with special reference to these four of His infinite auspicious attributes. He is also worshipped as the Parama Guru (The Supreme Preceptor), the Lord of hosts, and the lover par excellence, thus emphasising the *jñāna*, *kriya* and *iccha* aspects of the Divine personality. Parama Guru is preceptor of His own father, He is the commander of the army of the Devas against the Asuras. As the consort of Devasena and Valli, He is the Eternal Lover and Supreme Exemplar of the institutional and romantic aspects of union, known in Tamil culture as *karpu* and *kalavu*.

From the time of the *Tolkappiyam*, down to the present day, Murukan has figured prominently in Tamil literature and culture. What I am emphasising here is that we can not separate Murukan from the Tamils and their culture, whether in South India or Sri Lanka. In fact, literature on Murukan in Tamil is so extensive that we can refer here only to some of the chief and best known works. These references are illustrative, not exhaustive. We may thus call to mind, the *Tirumurugatruppadai*, *Paripadal* songs, Avvaiyar, *Kandapurānam* of Kachiyappa Sivacharyar, the works of Arunagirinathar, of Kumaraguruparar, Sivaprakasa Swamy, Ramalinga Swamy, Chidampara Swamy, Devaraja Swamy, Annamalai Reddiyar (of Kavadihindu fame) and in our own day, Arulkavi Sethuraman (now Sadhu Ram). Arunagirinathar's

Tiruppugal has a double appeal, captivating listeners by its lilting music as well as by its profundity.

Let us now, explain the vision of Murukan as delineated by Saint Nakkirar in his immortal poem *Tirumurugatruppadaï*. This illustrious poet lived in Madurai, the capital of the kingdom of Pandiyans, in the golden age of the Tamil academy of letters at the beginning of the 1st century A.D. The poem depicts in every detail the concept of Murukan as glorified in the culture of Tamils. This poem of three hundred and seventeen lines of sublime poetry written in classical Tamil adopts the dialogic form of poetic technique known as *Aarruppadaï* which is unique to Tamil poesy. Herein a mature guide who has relished the grace of a benefactor — in this instance it is Murukan — leads a novice who desires to follow the same way, to gain the award of Grace.

The quintessence of this poem of poems is the grand vision of Murukan to the devotees who had sought Him out in the sanctified sanctuaries of love — His six abodes. The testament of wisdom proclaimed in *Tirumurugatruppadaï* is the assurance of 'fear not', and the certitude of realization. The author has effected a subtle mingling of the traditional Vedic form of worship with that of the indigenous, spontaneous form of worship; a fusion of the light and dark cameos in the terrestrial and celestial spheres, an affirmation of doctrinal and ritual approaches, as well as a rejection of sceptred might and cloistered authority. In his poem, Nakkirar himself walks on the bridge of love and harmony, and paves the way to understanding among all levels of Murukan worshippers.

The conception of Murukan as revealed in the literature and language of the Tamils has continued faithfully, following the work of *Tolkappiyam* and *Paripadal*. In the Southern tradition of the Hindus, Murukan connotes everlasting fragrance, youth, divinity and beauty. In the collections of *Ettutogai* and *Pattuppattu* of the Tamil Sangam literature, there are many lyrics devoted to this eternal lover who fills the seeker with rapturous bliss, and they fill us to this day with something of their ethereal piety.

In *Paripadal*, *Ahananuru*, *Purananuru*, and the Kurunchi anthologies, Murukan's birth, exploits, acts of grace and love are delineated with an irrepressible charm and beauty that leave no doubt in our minds that the cult of Murukan was deep-rooted in the religious life of the Tamils in the heyday of their civilisation, some three thousand years ago. In these works, and especially in *Paripadal*, we get the concept of Murukan, the flaming God-Cevvel, as the Supreme source of energy, and we get the panoramic vision of the universal Murukan in the natural setting of hill-tops and mountains, rivers and sea coasts. The primal deity of the Kurinchi land was Murukan, and his lance and cock banner were extolled by the worshippers.

Paripadal, is a notable collection of poems of great merit of the third Sangam epoch, as it furnishes valuable data on the legends and worship of this deity in the ancient Tamil territory. Almost all the myths relating to the birth and exploits of Murukan known in the Puranic period are portrayed in the eight poems on Murukan in *Paripadal*. Cevvel, as he is termed in these poems, is compared to lustrous fire.

In another poem occur these memorable lines, which reveal the ultimate aim of Murukan worship:

We implore thee not for boons of enjoyment or wealth,
But for thy grace beatific, love and virtuous deeds. (Paripadal) ⁽¹⁹⁾

Conclusion

The *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* was published originally in 1912 in France. In his book Durkheim shows that religion plays a vital part in social life. Primitive man, especially, establishes a social environment that results when he meets in large ceremonial gatherings realizing that as a member of society he can survive but that as a lone individual he cannot. He comes to view society as something sacred because he is utterly dependent on it as a source of strength and culture. But it is easier for him to visualize and direct his feelings of awe and respect toward a symbol than toward so complex a thing as a clan. These symbols belong to the group, and they make its unity. The totem becomes the object of the sacred attitude. It is virtually God. Society in effect deifies itself. Durkheim equates society with God. He says that the idea of religion being inseparable from the temple makes it clear that religion should be an eminently collective thing. This is the running theme of this paper. What I am emphasising here is that we cannot separate Murukan from Tamil culture.

Primarily these festivals show as an expression of solidarity for a previously established society. The aspect of their temple festivals which Durkheim's collective representation theory has helped me to understand is the meaning of these large festival gatherings and to explain the prominent role festivals play in strengthening their social solidarity and identity.

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⁽¹⁹⁾ Ratnanavaratnam, *Karttikeya*, Bombay 1973, p. XVI.

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Remembering Tirumālikaittēvar The Relationship between an Early Śaiva Mystic and a South Indian Maṭam

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Located in the heart of Tamil country in South India is Tiruvāṭuturai⁽¹⁾, a small village situated near a branch of the Kaveri River which houses an important Śiva temple, making it a traditional pilgrimage site in the 'sacred geography'⁽²⁾ of Tamil Śaivites. This geography is marked out by the songs of the celebrated *nāyanmar*, the Śaiva poet saints or hymnsingers of the 7th to 9th centuries⁽³⁾. The highly revered Nānacampantar, Tirunāvukkaracar (Appar), Cuntaram, and Māṇikkavācakar all left records of their worship in the temple. As well, this site is where the early mystic Tirumūlar is said to have composed the *Tirumantiram*, the fifth book of the Tamil Śaiva canon, the *Tirumurai*. Tirumūlar's tomb-shrine (*camāti*, Skt. *samādhi*) is located to the northwest of the temple.

From the 16th century onwards, Tiruvāṭuturai has been the home of a group of Śaiva *vēlāḷa* ascetics who belong to a spiritual lineage that follows the Śaiva Siddhānta tradition⁽⁴⁾. Members of the lineage, who come from several clusters of *vēlāḷa* families residing in the Tirunelveli, Tanjavur and other districts in South India, gain entry into the group through formal rites of initiation. Tiruvāṭuturai's descent group was founded by Śrī-la-Śrī Namaccivāya, a late 16th century ascetic. The lineage has

(1) An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 33rd International Congress of Asian and North African Studies, held in Toronto, Ontario, Canada, in August 1990. Material from that presentation appears in 'The Burial Site of Tirumalikaitevar', in *Contacts Between Cultures: South Asia*, Vol. 2, ed. K.I. Koppedrayar, Lewiston, N.Y., 1992, pp. 299-305.

(2) G. Spencer, 'The Sacred Geography of the Tamil Shaivite Hymns', *Numen*, 17, 1970, pp. 232-44; see also I.V. Peterson, 'Singing of a Place. Pilgrimage as Metaphor and Motif in the *Tēvaram* Songs of the Tamil Śaivite Saints', *JAOS*, 102, 1, 1982, pp. 69-90.

(3) On the origin and development of the Tamil Śaivite sect, see M.A. Dorai Rangaswamy, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Tēvaram: With Special Reference to Nampar Arur (Sundarar)*, Madras 1958, vol. I, pp. 1-35, and K. Zvelebil, *The Smile of Murugan: On Tamil Literature of South India*, Leiden 1973, pp. 184-99.

(4) Śaiva Siddhānta tradition traces its teachings back to Meykaṇṭar, a 13th century *vēlāḷa*. See V.A. Devasenapathy, *Śaiva Siddhānta as Expounded in the Śivajñānasiddhīyār and Its Six Commentaries*, Madras University Philosophical Series, Madras 1974, for an overview of the early history of the tradition. See also V.S. Davamony, *The Love of God According to Śaiva Siddhānta*, Oxford 1971.

thrived and its institution, the Tiruvāvaṭuturai Ātinam, now plays a large role in the administration of twenty-seven temples in South India. The Ātinam is housed in a *maṭam* (shelter adjacent to a temple) located to the south of the temple.

At the centre of the *maṭam* is the *camāti* of Namaccivāya, devotion to whom is the focus of the lineage's ritual activity. Yet, within an arm's reach of his *camāti* is the tomb-shrine of a much earlier Śaiva *cittar* (mystic), known as Tirumālikaittēvar. The physical contiguity of the two shrines is striking; Tirumālikaittēvar's close proximity to Namaccivāya involves him in the daily rites celebrated by Namaccivāya's lineage descendants, suggesting a link between the earlier mystic and the later lineage. This paper will explore this possibility by examining what the members of Namaccivāya's lineage have had to say about their relationship with Tirumālikaittēvar in hagiographic and poetic works, and in the lineage's ritual performances. Attitudes towards Tirumālikaittēvar vary from one mode of expression to another, suggesting that a fuller picture of his relationship to the institution emerges when all sources, and not just the written ones, are considered.

Tirumālikaittēvar

Tirumālikaittēvar is no anonymous mystic. He is one of the lesser-known poets of the Tamil Śaivite canon who is credited with composing four songs at Cītamparam that make up the first section of *Tiruvicaippā*, part of the ninth book of the *Tirumurai* (?). *Tiruvicaippā* is a collection of twenty-eight songs, or hymns composed in musical modes, sung by nine poets ⁽⁶⁾ at temples mainly located along or near the Kaveri river in the present Tanjavur district. Most of the work was probably composed in the late 10th and early 11th centuries ⁽⁷⁾, though there is some disagreement over the dates assigned to the individual poets ⁽⁸⁾.

The *Tiruvicaippā* has attracted relatively little attention outside of Tamil Śaivite circles perhaps simply because it has been eclipsed by the more widely known

⁽⁵⁾ *Tirumālikaittēvar Mutalrya Onpatinmar Aruliceya Tiruvicaippā Tiruppallāntu Onpatān Tirumurai*, ed. Ci. Arunaivaṭivel, Tarumapuram Ātinam 1969.

⁽⁶⁾ The poets are Tirumālikaittēvar, Cētanār, Karuvūrttēvar, Pūnturutti Nampī, Kaṇṭarātittar, Vēṇāṭṭaṭikal, Tiruvāliyamutanār, Puruṭōttama Nampī, and Cētirāyar.

⁽⁷⁾ M.A. Dorai Rangaswamy, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Tēvaram*, op. cit., p. 2, suggests that the work was compiled after the construction of Gangaikōṇṭacōlapuram.

⁽⁸⁾ The dating of Cētanār is fairly certain because several of his songs were sung at Gangaikōṇṭacōlapuram. Mu. Arunācalam, *Tamil Ilakkīya Varalāru, Tamil Pulavar Varalāru, paṭṭam nūṟṇṇu*, Māyūram 1972, p. 466, places Tirumālikaittēvar in the 10th century on the basis of an epithet, *ninnu pavalakkuntame*, that appears both in one of Tirumālikaittēvar's poems and also in a temple inscription from the time of Rājaraṇja I. K. Zvelebil, *Tamil Literature*, op. cit., p. 148, suggests that Tirumālikaittēvar lived around the 11th century. The hagiography of Tirumālikaittēvar (see below) places Tirumālikaittēvar at the time of the construction of Gangaikōṇṭacōlapuram.

and earlier works such as those of the *Tēvāram* and Māṇikkavācakar's *Tiruvācakam*. Likewise, very little is known about the poets whose songs make up the anthology. None of them figures in the 12th century *Tiruttonṭarapurāṇam*, Cēkkilār's collection of hagiographies commonly known as the *Periyapurāṇam*, as the poets of the *Tiruvicaippā* lived later than Cuntaramūrti, whose *Tirutonṭattokai* is the basis of Cēkkilār's work.

Sources

What little information we have about Tirumālikaittēvar comes mainly from sources dating several centuries after the *Tiruvicaippā*. The principal source of information is the 18th century *Turaicaippurāṇam* ⁽⁹⁾, a *talapurāṇam* (Skt. *sthalapurāṇa*, an account of a particular locality) that recounts the legendary history of Turaicai, or Tiruvāṇattur. This *talapurāṇam* was compiled by Cāttiram Cāminātamunivar, a *tampirān* (initiate) of the Tiruvāṇattur *Ātīnam* ⁽¹⁰⁾, at a time when the Śaiva centres were producing numerous *talapurāṇa* ⁽¹¹⁾, possibly for propaganda purposes. During this same period, members of the Tiruvāṇattur *Ātīnam* were being appointed as overseers of *kaṭṭalais* (endowments for temple services) at temples as far away as Tiruccēntūr and Tiruperunturai ⁽¹²⁾, the same sites extolled in the different *talapurāṇa* being compiled.

Cāttiram Cāminātamunivar provides us with a short account of Tirumālikaittēvar's adventures at Tiruvāṇattur. There are possibly earlier versions of this hagiography, but I have not located any of them. In addition to the material from the *Turaicaippurāṇam*, eight sets of verses from Tiruvāṇattur also make reference to

⁽⁹⁾ Cāttiram Cāminātamunivar, *Turaicaippurāṇam*, prose edition by Nānānantā, Tiruvāṇattur 1961. This prose version of the *talapurāṇam* was the only text I was able to obtain. No critical edition of the text was available.

⁽¹⁰⁾ According to the *Tiruvāṇattur Ātīnak Kuruperaṁparai Vilakkam*, p. 155, Cāttiram Cāminātamunivar received initiation from Tiruvāṇattur's tenth preceptor, Śrī Vēlappatēcikar, but he composed the *talapurāṇam* during the rule of the twelfth head, Tiruccirāmpalatēcikar. *Aṇacavanattu Aṇalaitiyam*, p. 85, suggests that the *Turaicaippurāṇam* was composed sometime during Tulajēntira's rule in Tanjavur (1763-1787), as Cāttiram Cāminātamunivar also composed a *Tiruperunturappurāṇam* which names Tulajēntira as a benefactor.

⁽¹¹⁾ K. Zvelebil, *Tamil Literature*, op. cit., pp. 218-32 and 243-53, discusses the *purāṇas* produced in the 16th through 18th centuries. Many of these works were compiled by members of either Tiruvāṇattur or Dharmapuram. See also *Tiruvāṇattur Ātīnak Kuruperaṁparai Vilakkam*, pp. 115 f.

⁽¹²⁾ See *Tiruvāṇattur Ātīnak Kuruperaṁparai Vilakkam*, pp. 86-237, *passim*, for references to the *talapurāṇas* produced by Tiruvāṇattur. The centre often produced more than one work on the same site. On Tirupperunturai, for example, two *talapurāṇa* were produced in the late 18th century. In addition to Cāttiram Cāminātamunivar's work mentioned above, Cuntiralinka Munivar also produced a *Tirupperunturappurāṇam* (also called the *Kuṭippuraitiyūṭān*). This work has been published (Taṇcāvūr 1976).

Tirumālikaittēvar; all are attributed Toṭṭikkalaiccuppiramaṇiyamunivar⁽¹³⁾, a senior contemporary of Cāttiram Cāminātamunivar. Of these verses, two are stray panegyrics, one is a listing of the miracles performed by Tirumālikaittēvar, and five make up a work called the *Tirumālikaittēvar Tiruviruttan̄kaḷ*. I will return to the *purāṇam* and Toṭṭikkalaiccuppiramaṇiyamunivar's verses when I complete this review of sources.

Other sources on Tirumālikaittēvar are quite sparse. The four hymns attributed to him, which were all sung at Citamparam, reflect the devotional, qualified non-dualistic theology that has come to be associated with Śaiva Siddhānta; the material also shows little tolerance for non-Śaivites⁽¹⁴⁾. The Āgamic terms that appear in these hymns suggest he had knowledge of Sanskrit. An epigraph from Tiruvīlīmīlalai dated to the time of Rājārāja Cōla refers to a *civaṇāni* Tirumālikaittēvar, alias Cēyantaṇ, who fixed an ever-burning lamp in the temple⁽¹⁵⁾. This *civaṇāni* may possibly have been the same Tirumālikaittēvar, as one of the miracles Toṭṭikkalaiccuppiramaṇiyamunivar cites was said to have taken place at Tiruvīlīmīlalai⁽¹⁶⁾.

Other Sources

In addition to these few literary and epigraphical references to Tirumālikaittēvar, there is another important source of information which gives some hint of a relationship between Tirumālikaittēvar and the later Tiruvāvaṭuturai Ātinam. The source is not the discursive language of invocatory verses, but the symbolic language of ritual; as such, the material is perhaps more difficult to interpret. Tiruvāvaṭuturai's rituals do not provide any biographical information about Tirumālikaittēvar; they provide 'biographical' material of another sort: of the *ātinam* itself. The way Tirumālikaittēvar figures in the ritual undertakings of the institution makes a powerful statement. One has to be cautious about reading history into ritual performance; nonetheless, the ritual

(13) *Arucavanattu*, p. 221, attributes these verses of Kaṇṇiyappamunivar, but on p. 106 of the same work, Toṭṭikkalaiccuppiramaṇiyamunivar is credited with composing the *Tirumālikaittēvar Tiruviruttam* during the time of Śrī Pinṇēlappatēcīkar, the eleventh head of Tiruvāvaṭuturai. The introduction to *Tiruvāvaṭuturai Ātinam*, p. xxv; *Tiruvāvaṭuturai Ātinam Valāru*, p. 66; Mu. Aruṇācalaṁ, *Tamiḷ*..., *op. cit.*, p. 462; and other works credit Toṭṭikkalaiccuppiramaṇiyamunivar with the verses.

(14) C. & H. Jesudan, *History of Tamil Literature*, Calcutta 1960, p. 132, describes the material as so strongly intolerant that 'sometimes the vocabulary becomes too strong to be digestible'.

(15) A.R.E., no. 414 of 1924. On the basis of this inscription, A. Gopinatha Rao, *Centamiḷ* III, pp. 358-62, has suggested that Tirumālikaittēvar and Cēteṇār, another poet of the *Tiruvāvaṭuturai* are the same. See K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōlas*, Madras 1974, p. 678, for a discussion and refutation of this view.

(16) *Onṇṇaṭṭam Tirumūṇṇam*, p. 55. The miracle said to be performed at Tiruvīlīmīlalai will be described below.

cycle does suggest a deeper connection to Tirumālikaittēvar than that presented by the lineage (*paramparai*) literature. I will turn now to this material.

Ritual and Tirumālikaittēvar

At Tiruvāṇṭuturai, as at other Śaiva *maṭas*, daily rites of *pūjā* are an inseparable part of the institution. Tiruvāṇṭuturai's rites centre around the lineage deities and Tirumālikaittēvar and Namaccivāya. The main lineage deities consist of a *linga* once worshipped by the 14th century Śaiva scholar Umāpati, and the *vaityanāta linga* of the present lineage's founder, Namaccivāya, whose spiritual lineage is traced back to Umāpati⁽¹⁷⁾. These deities, as well as Tirumālikaittēvar and Namaccivāya, are honoured with separate rites of *pūjā* performed according to the Āgamic specifications followed by Tiruvāṇṭuturai⁽¹⁸⁾. Done twice a day — in the morning with full sixteen-step *pūjā* to each major image and in the evening in abbreviated fashion — this cycle of *pūjā* provides the *āṭṭinam*'s ritual tradition with its basic structure. But there is an unusual quirk to the ritual pattern at Tiruvāṇṭuturai in its timing and division of labour.

The rites commence with *pūjā* to the lineage deities. Gurumahasannidhanam, the head of the *āṭṭinam*'s spiritual lineage, undertakes these rites, for he alone is ritually qualified to perform them. When he has completed this worship, he moves to the shrines of Tirumālikaittēvar. But there he stands and watches. The head *civācārya* (priest) of the temple adjacent to the *maṭam* conducts the rite with Gurumahasannidhanam in attendance. Only when that *pūjā* is completed and when Gurumahasannidhanam has received its blessings in the form of *vipūṭi* (sacred ash), does he proceed to the *camāti* of his lineage's founder, where the ritual cycle is completed with the distribution of Namaccivāya's blessings.

It is unthinkable that anyone except a properly initiated member of the institution's ascetic order be allowed near the *camāti* of Namaccivāya. Likewise, only a *civācārya* may perform Tirumālikaittēvar's *pūjā*. Concern about ritual purity accounts in part for this division of ritual labour: either *camāti* would be polluted were a non-qualified person to approach it. Namaccivāya was *vēḷāḷa* and members of the *āṭṭinam* — his spiritual kinsmen through their membership in his lineage — are likewise *vēḷāḷa*. 'Kin' links with Namaccivāya and qualifications earned through rites of initiation enable Gurumahasannidhanam to perform this *pūjā*. As for Tirumālikaittēvar, members of the *āṭṭinam* often explain that he was a Brahmin saint to account for the temple priest's role in the *āṭṭinam*'s daily rituals. They also state that the *āṭṭinam* employs the temple priest in order to ensure that the worship to Tirumālikaittēvar is done properly. This

(17) *Aṇṇacavanattu Aṇṇilayam*, p. 224.

(18) *Ibid.*, pp. 224 f. gives a brief discussion of these rites.

attitude suggests a distancing from Tirumālikaittēvar; the division of ritual duties draw a boundary around Tirumālikaittēvar, separating him from the present lineage at Tiruvāvaṭuturai.

Nonetheless, the timing and circumstances of Tirumālikaittēvar's *pūjā* accord him considerable importance. The blessings that come from Namaccivāya cannot be dispersed until Gurumahasannidhanam has received the blessing of Tirumālikaittēvar. The order of the *pūjās* also gives priority to Tirumālikaittēvar as devotion to him must always precede that shown to Namaccivāya. This requirement that Tirumālikaittēvar be worshipped before Namaccivāya holds even during *gurupūjā*, the most important event in the institution's annual ritual calendar, when all the members and associates of the *āṭṭinam* gather at Tiruvāvaṭuturai to celebrate Namaccivāya's 'attainment of the fullness of Śiva' (*civaneripurāṇam*, i.e., his death). In fact, Tirumālikaittēvar inaugurates the ten-day celebration⁽¹⁹⁾. On the eve of the flag-raising which announces the celebration, Gurumahasannidhanam accompanies the processional image (*utsavamūrti*) of Tirumālikaittēvar from the adjoining Śiva temple to Tirumālikaittēvar's shrine in the *maṭam*. While the head of the *āṭṭinam* and Tirumālikaittēvar (in the form of the *utsavamūrti*) look on, the *civācārya* performs *pūjā* to Tirumālikaittēvar, whose blessings are distributed to the *āṭṭinam* head and other devotees. According to the people at the *maṭam*, the journey of processional image signifies Tirumālikaittēvar's renewal of his presence in the *maṭam* and his permission to commence *gurupūjā*.

There is further evidence of ritual patterns which accord Tirumālikaittēvar the respect of an ancestral or tutelary deity. I turn to an event recounted in Au. Ve. Cāminātan's biography of Mīnāṭcicuntarampillai⁽²⁰⁾, the 19th century Tamil scholar closely associated with the Tiruvāvaṭuturai *Āṭṭinam*. According to Cāminātan, Mīnāṭcicuntarampillai had come to Tiruvāvaṭuturai to spend some time with Śrī-la-Śrī Cuppiramaṇiyatēcikar, the *āṭṭinam*'s head, when he heard the gong announcing the mid-day meal. This meal is called *māhēśvarapūjā*, or the worship of the devotees (*māhēśvaras*). In this rite, the head of the institution is seated in a large eating hall with his followers arranged in front of him in rows according to their rank within the institution. Before the meal begins, the head *tampirān* (the lineage's chief disciple) performs *arāṭanai* (an abbreviated form of *pūjā*) to the head of the institution and to his devotees. This rite, which follows the worship of Namaccivāya, is an integral part of Tiruvāvaṭuturai's ritual cycle: after the lineage deities and the founder of the lineage are honoured, the lineage, complete with its lay following is celebrated and the ties within the community are reiterated in a communal meal.

When Mīnāṭcicuntarampillai heard the gong, he inquired whether the *pūjā* to

⁽¹⁹⁾ G. Yocum, 'Wisdom Made Visible: The Divine Teacher in Tamil Śaiva Temple and Monastic Ritual', paper presented at the 1986 meeting of the American Academy of Religion, p. 9.

⁽²⁰⁾ Mīnāṭcicuntarampillai *Aṅkaḷ Carittiraccuṟukkam*, Tiruvānmiyūr, Cennai: Dr. Au. Ve. Cāminātaiyar Nūl Nilayam, 1965, p. 145.

Tirumālikaittēvar had been completed. When he was told that it had not, he then composed a verse chastising Cuppiramanīyatēcikar:

I, a mere foot-servant of Cuppiramanīyatēcikar, whose
Dazzling presence can but be praised, supplicate.
There can be no sitting in rows [*mābēṣvarapūjā*]
Until the great pūjā to Tirumālikaittēvar is completed with love. (21)

With this, the scholar reminded the head of the *ātīnam* that Tirumālikaittēvar was part of Tiruvāvaṭuturai's tradition. According to Mīnāṭcuntirampillai, ritual propriety included remembrance of Tirumālikaittēvar.

These examples present a powerful image of Tirumālikaittēvar. As Carol Breckenridge has pointed out in another context (22), ritual events provide situations in which honours are distributed and received by the various participants in the ritual drama. When the head of the *ātīnam* worships at the shrine of Tirumālikaittēvar, he is no casual devotee who happens to stray into a temple. Symbolic himself of his institution, Gurumahasannidhanam is involved in a reciprocal transaction in which the *ātīnam* honours and is honoured by Tirumālikaittēvar. The significance of the transaction? Simply put, Tirumālikaittēvar has a place, and an important one at that, in Tiruvāvaṭuturai's tradition. By continually remembering not only to honour Tirumālikaittēvar, but also to honour him before honouring Namaccivāya and Tiruvāvaṭuturai's lineage, the Tiruvāvaṭuturai *Ātīnam* seems to be acknowledging some sort of spiritual debt to Tirumālikaittēvar.

The eulogistic verses that make up the *Tirumālikaittēvar Tiruviruttan̄kaḷ* (23) seem to be saying the same thing. Toṭṭikkalaiccuppiramanīyamunivar, the poet who composed this work, was a contemporary of Kacciappamunivar, who is credited with the construction of the wall and walkways that set the two *camātis* of Namaccivāya and Tirumālikaittēvar (24) off from surrounding areas in the *maṭam*. This construction combines the two shrines within one enclosure, thus further accentuating their closeness

(21) Mīnāṭcuntirampillai's poem has double entendre. The line, 'There can be no sitting in rows' (*paṇṇi yaṭāl valak kam*) also can be understood as 'There is no binding of birth'. Understood in this way, the intended criticism is softened, as this reading calls Cuppiramanīyatēcikar's attention to the liberating aspect of *pūjā* to Tirumālikaittēvar. From Au. Ve. Cāminātan's account of the circumstances that led Mīnāṭcuntirampillai to compose this poem, there is no mistake about the allusion to *mābēṣvarapūjā*.

(22) C. Breckenridge, *The Śrī Mīnāṭ Sundarēśvarar Temple*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1976, p. 285.

(23) Reproduced in *Arucavan̄attu Aran̄ileyan*, pp. 221-23.

(24) *Kuruparamparai Viḷakkam*, p. 129. This information was called to my attention by several people when I was at Tiruvāvaṭuturai.

to each other; any circumambulation done to the shrine of Namaccivāya necessarily takes in the shrine of Tirumālikaittēvar.

The tone of the *Tirumālikaittēvar Tiruviruttankaḷ* suggests that the verses were recited before the shrine of Tirumālikaittēvar. The verses are plaintive; the supplication is not for spiritual liberation, but rather for material protection. The fourth set of verses in this work is particularly striking:

We, who have renounced women, society, those who lay claim to us, wealth and even birth,
We have in our loneliness your sacred feet as our only refuge.
If there be any wants, tell us, to whom else can we go?
We ask if at all there be anyone else.
You sustain the devotees' life, O Tirumālikaittēvar, whom the heavenly hordes honour. (25)

In its eulogizing of Tirumālikaittēvar, this set of *tiruviruttankaḷ* resembles much of the poetry produced by members of the *ātinam* in the 18th century. However, within the *ātinam*, such verse was ordinarily kept within the lineage, being addressed to the head of the lineage (26), or to the founder of the lineage (27). As well, these verses go beyond praise; they depict a personal relationship between Tirumālikaittēvar and the *tampirān*, who address him as a sort of patron saint in times of need (28).

Toṭṭikkalaiccuppiramaṇiyamunivar's other verses addressed to Tirumālikaittēvar are in the same vein:

You, O pure one, worshipping daily at the feet of
The mystic Pōkanāta, equalled by none,
By speech and by mind, you bring honour
To the delight of the fragrant lord.
You are the brightness dispelling darkness,

(25) *Aṇḍavanattu Aṇḍilaryam*, p. 222.

(26) Many of the heads of the lineage composed verses praising their teachers. Other initiated members did likewise. For example, the 16th head of the lineage was known as a great scholar and several of his disciples produced works extolling both his erudition and piety. Such works include *Vēṇuvāṇalīṅkacuvāmikal*, *Cuppiramaṇiyatēcikaḷaccimappu*, ed. Arumukaccuvāmikal, Tirunelvēli 1891 and *Mīṇāḷṣicuntiram* Pillai, *Cuppiramaṇiyam Tēcikarmālai*, ed. U. Puṣparata Cettiyār, Cennai 1887.

(27) Important examples are Ampalayāna Tēcikar's *Namacci-vāya Mālai* (*Pāṇṭaracāttinam Namacci-vāya Mālai*, Tiruvāṇatūrai 1967) and Piṇ Vēlappa Tēcikar's *Paṇḍākkaratēcikar Mālai* (*Kuruparamparaḷ Vēlakkam*, p. 123).

(28) According to Mu. Aruṇācalam, *Tamil Ilakkiya Pattam Nūṇṇṇu*, p. 451, whenever a *tampirān* had a grievance against another, he would utter the complaint in the sanctity of Tirumālikaittēvar's shrine to get recourse. This practice may have fallen into disuse, as I neither observed it nor heard about it during my stays at Tiruvāṇatūrai.

The embodiment of devotion stemming from all directions
 You, who shed grace on Tiruvāṭuturai!
 O Tirumālikaittēvar, in our hearts let us take refuge.
 The miraculous nature that is beyond the scrutiny
 Of those outside the faith, you have explained
 In fullness, attaining Śiva's bliss.
 Our great one, wither up our faults,
 Servant of truth,
 Give us our life that
 Turaicai may flourish,
 Let us praise the lotus feet of Tirumālikaittēvar. (29)

These verses and the *āṭinam*'s rituals pay considerable homage to Tirumālikaittēvar. He is very real and very much present in the *maṭam* and appears, as I suggested above, to figure as an ancestral figure in the *āṭinam*'s collective memory. But here is the real clincher. The centrality of Tirumālikaittēvar's *camāti* in the *maṭam* notwithstanding, the *āṭinam*'s *paramparai* literature (lineage chronicles) is completely silent about him. Though one might expect the presence of an early Śaiva saint and mystic like Tirumālikaittēvar to bolster the prestige of the Tiruvāṭuturai Āṭinam, the present lineage expresses no inclination whatsoever to trace its roots back to either Tirumālikaittēvar or his lineage. Tirumālikaittēvar is completely absent from the listings of the Āṭinam's preceptors which go back beyond the 16th century and the preceptors who lived at Tiruvāṭuturai to include earlier figures like the 14th century Śaiva scholar Umāpati and the 13th century Meykaṇṭar (30). Even though Tirumālikaittēvar's songs make up part of the highly revered *Tirumurai*, he does not exist as far as Tiruvāṭuturai's lineage is concerned. This attitude is puzzling, but a clue to this silence is found in the *Turaicaippurāṇam*.

The Turaicaippurāṇam

Two chapters (58 and 59) of the *Turaicaippurāṇam* provide information about Tirumālikaittēvar (31). The account is short: Tirumālikaittēvar was staying at

(29) *Aracavanattu Aranileyam*, p. 222.

(30) See, for example, Melakaram Cuppiramaṇiyakkavirar, *Tiruvāṭuturai Āṭinam Kuruparamperai Viḷakkam*, Tiruvāṭuturai 1928, pp. 7-69 and Ta. Ca. Mīnāṭcuntaram Pillai, *Tiruvāṭuturai Āṭinam Varāḷaru*, Tiruvāṭuturai 1950, pp. 1-22.

(31) *Turaicaippurāṇam*, pp. 303-18. In addition to discussing Tirumālikaittēvar, the text includes stories of Tirumūlar, Appar, Tiruñāṇampantar, Cuntaramūrti, Mānikkavācakar and others whose hagiographies appear in the *Periyapurāṇam* and other sources. These chapters provide fairly complete hagiographies of each of the saints, rather than recounting only what they did at Tiruvāṭuturai. To be sure, Cāttiram Cāminātamunivar gives full attention to the visits the saints made to Tiruvāṭuturai.

Tiruvāṇṭuturai with Pōkanātar (Skt. Bhoganātha), his religious preceptor, and some co-disciples. The rest of them eventually went on to other places, but Tirumālīkaiṭṭēvar was ordered by his guru to remain at Tiruvāṇṭuturai. He eventually built a *maṭam* to the south of the temple, and had a number of adventures while there. At first the story appears quite simple, but below the surface it hints at religious and social tensions. In summary, here is Tirumālīkaiṭṭēvar's story:

The account opens at Tiruvāṇṭuturai, where Pōkanātar, a great *cittar*, is staying in the 'king's forest' (*aracavanam*; land granted by the king), surrounded by disciples, some of whom follow the Śaiva practice, some of whom follow the *vāma*, or 'left-handed' practice. Tirumālīkaiṭṭēvar and Karuvūrttēvar, another of *Tiruvicaippā*'s poets, are both introduced as disciples of Pōkanāta. Karuvūr is described as drinking the intoxicating soma, worshipping Cakti (Skt. Śakti), and following the *vāmacamayam*, the left-handed tradition, while Tirumālīkaiṭṭēvar is introduced as a worshipper of Śiva and a follower of the Śaiva tradition.

Pōka taught Tirumālīkaiṭṭēvar to perform *pūjā* to Naṭarāja (as Pōkanāta had some connections with Citamparam) and Karuvūrttēvar to do *pūjā* to Pārasakti.

One day Tirumālīkaiṭṭēvar offers the remains of his *pūjā* (*nirmālīyam*) to Karuvūrttēvar who accepts them. But, later when Karuvūr tries to reciprocate with the offerings of his *pūjā*, Tirumālīkaiṭṭēvar simply refuses. When Karuvūr asks Pōka to arbitrate, he is told that what Tirumālīkaiṭṭēvar had done is perfectly correct.

Pōka explains that the auspiciousness and superiority of Tirumālīkaiṭṭēvar's *pūjā* to Śiva entitled Karuvūr to accept its remains, but that it was improper for Tirumālīkaiṭṭēvar to accept Karuvūr's inferior offerings. With that explanation, Karuvūr reveres Tirumālīkaiṭṭēvar as a superior guru.

The scene then shifts to an exchange between a Cōla king and a sage named Ēraṇṭamuṇivar. The king came to the sage, as there was a problem with the flow of the Kaveri river that was affecting the prosperity of the land. The river had begun to take a subterranean turn under the location of the Tiruvālāṇṭu shrine, so creating a magical whirlpool that deprived the rest of the land of water.

The sage advises that either a king or a great sage must sacrifice himself to the magical whirlpool. Hearing this, the king resolves to give himself up to the river. His wife, however, is not very happy with this idea, so she accompanies her lord to where the sage is, and secures his blessings for the longevity of the two of them together. She then questions the efficacy of the sage's blessing in light of the king's intention to throw himself into the river. Caught by the wife's appeal, the sage forbids the king to jump and instead orders him to dedicate four *śivaliṅgas* in place of his personal sacrifice. The sage then jumps into the river himself.

and especially highlights their stays at the *maṭam* there which Tirumālīkaiṭṭēvar is credited with founding. As the chapters on Tirumālīkaiṭṭēvar are placed before the chapters on the other saints (with the exception of Tirumūlar), though the saints actually lived before him, the arrangement of material suggests that the earlier saints stayed in a *maṭam* on the site presently occupied by the Tiruvāṇṭuturai Aṭṭanam.

The Cōla king has three lingas erected, one in Tanjavur, one at the Rājarājeśvara temple, and one at Tribhūvanam. For the fourth, he has the jungle cleared and establishes a place called Gangaikoṇṭacōlapuram. He then runs into problems in the installation of the linga. The mortar does not set.

The king is in a state of agitation, but a *devadāsī* who has been watching the rite, rushes over to Tiruvāvaṭuturai and appeals to Pōkanāta for help. Pōkanāta summons Karuvūr and orders him to go to Gangaikoṇṭacōlapuram. Then, as Pōkanāta is thinking of leaving Tiruvāvaṭuturai himself and not wishing Tirumālīkaiṭṭēvar to suffer from the separation, he gives his sandals to Tirumālīkaiṭṭēvar so he can continue his daily *gurutpūjā* along with the daily worship of Mācilāmaṇi and Oppilāmulaiyāl, Śiva and his consort at Tiruvāvaṭuturai. So Tirumālīkaiṭṭēvar becomes the preceptor at Tiruvāvaṭuturai, while Pōkanāta goes on to Tiruppukalūr.

Meanwhile, Karuvūr arrives in Gangaikoṇṭacōlapuram to rectify the problem of the linga by chewing betel and spitting into the mortar ⁽³²⁾. He then sings a verse, 'I, a servant, have eaten of the meat ⁽³³⁾ prepared for you, O Lord of Gangaikoṇṭacōlapuram', in order to explain to the king what he did. Afterwards, he makes a circuit of several temples sites, Citamparam, Tiribhūvanam, and Tiruviṭaimarutūr, where he sings more songs. Arriving on the banks of the Tāmiraparani (in the deep south), he gathers disciples around him. There a crow delivers a letter from Pōkanāta, summoning him. Feeling the pangs of separation, Karuvūrṭṭēvar sets off to have the joy of seeing Pōkanāta's face. En route he stops at Tirunelvēli and Tiruvīlimilalai before arriving in Tiruppukalūr, where Pōkanāta has established himself.

At the same time, Tirumālīkaiṭṭēvar has been faithfully following his daily devotional regime at Tiruvāvaṭuturai. His discipline and dedication have brought nine crore of *cittars* (*navakōṭṭaiccittarkaḥ*) to his *maṭam* to the south of the temple and the Śaiva teachings are flourishing and spreading to all places. One day, accompanied by Cēntanāyanar, another of *Tiruvicaippā*'s poets, he goes to Citamparam, where he sang to Natarāja:

May you repeat the words that I repeat
May the words I utter be your words
May you enjoy as I enjoy. ⁽³⁴⁾

There at Citamparam he composes the songs that are included in the *Tiruvicaippā*. He then returns to Tiruvāvaṭuturai.

One day when Tirumālīkaiṭṭēvar is returning from the Kaveri River with water

⁽³²⁾ On the topic of *uccibista*, see Ch. Malamoud, 'Observations sur le reste dans le Brahmanisme', WZKS, XVI, 1972, pp. 5-26.

⁽³³⁾ The original printing of the text uses the word *ūṇ*, 'meat', but someone who had handled the text before me changed the word to read *ūṇa*, 'food', thus rendering the verse less reprehensible.

⁽³⁴⁾ From what follows in the story, these verses have magical intent; from here on Tirumālīkaiṭṭēvar's speech becomes frightfully powerful

and flowers for his *pūjā* he encounters a procession carrying a corpse on the path to his *maṭam*. In order not to be polluted he appeals to Gaṇapati in a shrine by the wayside who silences the funerary drums and gives the corpse enough life so it can walk by itself to the cremation grounds. Thus at Tiruvāṇṭūrai, Vināyakar (Gaṇapati) is known as *Koṭṭuttavirttakāṇapati*, Gaṇapati who causes the drum beats to stop.

Then, barren Brahmin women (*antaṇa mātarakal*) of Tiruvāṇṭūrai whose minds become so captivated by Tirumālīkaiṭṭēvar that they are unable to think of anything else, begin bearing sons resembling Tirumālīkaiṭṭēvar. Their husbands, horrified at the implications of this turn of events, request the king, Naraciṅka⁽³⁵⁾, to punish him. When the king's men come with ropes to bind him and bring him to the king, Tirumālīkaiṭṭēvar utters a phrase telling them to tie themselves up. They indeed become confused and get all tangled up in their own ropes. The same situation is repeated when the king again sends men, this time with weapons to cut up Tirumālīkaiṭṭēvar. Finally the king himself comes with all his armies, but Tirumālīkaiṭṭēvar appeals to the goddess (Oppilāmulaiyāmmai), who summons the bulls (*nantis*) from the temple wall to defeat the army. It is annihilated, but the king and his minister are spared. This account thus explains the name of the village next to Tiruvāṇṭūrai, which is called Naraciṅkappettai.

This chapter ends with Tirumālīkaiṭṭēvar well established in his *maṭam*.

The next chapter opens with the arrival at Tiruvāṇṭūrai of a Koṅkacittar⁽³⁶⁾, a disciple of Pōkanāta. This Koṅkacittar is a great scholar, a follower of the left-handed practices, an adept in alchemy, one who drinks alcohol, possessed with great magical powers (*citti*), experienced in deep spiritual practices, and so on. But as Tirumālīkaiṭṭēvar's power from Śaiva practice is stronger, he draws the Koṅkacittar from the worship of Śakti to the worship of Śiva. Tirumālīkaiṭṭēvar then administers the three levels of Śaiva initiation to the *cittar*, who goes on to erect a Śiva temple to the west of one of the *tīrtas* at Tiruvāṇṭūrai.

(35) The identity of this account's Naraciṅka is unclear, but a Naraciṅka does appear in other hagiographic accounts. In the *Tiruttottakai*, Cuntiramūrti calls himself the servant of the true servant of the lord, or king Naraciṅkamunaiyāraian. Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi provides some more information about the king. According to Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi, the king, being of the habit of giving gold coins to Śaiva *tapasvins*, once gave double the amount of gold to one who saw the feminine form everywhere. Cēkkilār provides an even fuller account in his *Periyapurāṇam*:

Naraciṅkamunaiyāraian was the ruler of Tirumunaiyāraian. He always bore in his mind the greatness of the sacred ashes. On the Atirai day he would honour Śaivites, feed them and give them one hundred gold coins each. One Atirai day, a pronounced libertine expressing lust in his every act, came besmeared with the sacred ashes. When others slighted him, Naraciṅkamunaiyāraian, recognizing the sacred ashes he wore, welcomed him with all humility and gave him twice the gold he usually gave to an ascetic.

As this king was associated with Cuntiramūrti, he would have lived several centuries before Tirumālīkaiṭṭēvar. Oddly enough, some of the themes of the account, such as an uneasiness with *śaktas*, are echoed in Tirumālīkaiṭṭēvar's story.

(36) According to the 'Onpatān tirumurai āciriyaṅkal varalāru', in *Onpatān Tirumurai*, p. 59, Karuvūr was born in Koṅkunāṇu. This last episode in the purāṇic account thus might be suggesting that Karuvūr was converted to 'pure Śaiva' practices in the end.

The *purāṇam*'s discussion of Tirumālikaittēvar ends here (37). It presents conflicting images: Tirumālikaittēvar was intimately associated with left-handed Śaiva sects, but he himself did not follow their practices. Disciples of his own teacher were trained in *vāma* discipline yet when their practices were compared to Tirumālikaittēvar's, their discipline was considered impure and therefore inferior. Further, Tirumālikaittēvar is portrayed as helping bring about a break with the suspect traditions. In his lineage, he is the only one who promulgates the purer form of Śaiva worship, which he spreads in exemplary fashion, attracting disciples and converting *śaktas* while maintaining a *maṭam* at Tiruvāvaṭuturai. As a result, Tirumālikaittēvar is a superior guru.

The followers of the *vāma* tradition are inferior, however, only in relation to Tirumālikaittēvar. When the Cōla king, who is presumably Rajendra Cōla, wants to erect a great temple for himself, he needs the help of Karuvūrttēvar, Tirumālikaittēvar's left-handed co-disciple, who uses spit, ordinarily a pollutant, to fix the linga in place. Here the account's message is unmistakable. In this great symbol of Cōla state religion, no stigma whatsoever is attached to unorthodox traditions. Yet the account attempts to distance Tirumālikaittēvar from any taint of unorthodoxy. With Tirumālikaittēvar's and Karuvūrttēvar's unequal sharing of *nirmāḷyam*, the account draws Tirumālikaittēvar away from what might be any of the unorthodox groups — Lakūla, Paśupata, Kāpālika, or Kālāmukha — that were not only present in South India, but also recipients of Cōla patronage (38). Ambivalence surrounds Tirumālikaittēvar's connections with the left-handed tradition. The repeated emphasis on good Śaiva discipline decidedly dissociates Tirumālikaittēvar from anything but 'pure' Śaiva practices, but then Cāttiram Cāminātamunivar recounts an episode in which Tirumālikaittēvar's morality is questioned, though the whole affair is portrayed simply as a misunderstanding. Nonetheless, the episode is based on an allegation of sexual misconduct, an accusation not uncommonly levelled at Paśupatas, Kālāmukhas, and others. Tirumālikaittēvar is implicated not because he is associated with Karuvūrttēvar or other cohorts, but because of his own reputation.

(37) Toṭṭikkalai Cuppiramaniyaṁunivar's *Arputa Nikalccikal* (Miracle Deeds) (*Arucavanattu aruṇilaryam*, p. 223 and 'Onpatān tirumurai ācīriyarkal varalāru' in *Onpatān Tirumurai*, pp. 55-56), also provide some hagiographic detail, but only by way of adding to Tirumālikaittēvar's list of miracles.

Suspending the waterpot cast in mid-air
 Animating the corpse to deflect defilement
 Moving the gold-ornamented temple car with ropes untied
 Summoning the clay Nantis from the wall
 Sweetening the smoke rising from the burning body in the cremation ground
 Drawing the water out of Konkanar's pot, causing the cooked grain to sprout,
 To us you are grace, O Tirumālikaittēvar,
 Whose protector's feet I praise

(38) D. Lorenzen, *Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas*, New Delhi 1972, pp. 165-67.

Tirumālikaittēvar also is portrayed as having an awkward relationship with the local ruler quite unlike his teacher's relationship with the Cōla king. Naraciṅka comes to Tiruvāṇṭūṭurai only to destroy Tirumālikaittēvar while the Cōla king needs to secure Pōkanāta's aid. Here, there appears to be some recall of tension in the interactions of local authority with religious figures who enjoyed Cōla patronage and who were settled in places like Tiruvāṇṭūṭurai through the machinery of the Cōla state. Likely outsiders, such figures may have been initially met with some suspicion in places like Tiruvāṇṭūṭurai.

One of the inscriptions from Tiruvāṇṭūṭurai makes a reference to an endowment by Rajendracōla to feed the residents of a *maṭam* named after the king's guru (³⁹). The record, dating to the 28th year of Rajendra, describes a transaction in which the temple obtained a tract of land from the assembly of Merkilimangalam, a *brahmadeya*, the income of which was to provide for the *māhēśvaras* of the *Sarvatēvanttirumaṭam*, called after the king's guru.

Whether Tirumālikaittēvar was one of those *māhēśvaras* can only be a matter of speculation. The *purāṇam* places him in a *maṭam* at Tiruvāṇṭūṭurai, and depicts a connection with the Cōla king. The interactions are further compounded by the *śaiva-vāma* tensions. Unless elements symbolic of *vāma* practices are totally coincidental, the account evokes an elusive connection to Tirumālikaittēvar, who is simultaneously associated with and dissociated from a *vāma* tradition. In its juxtaposition of ideas of purity/impurity and morality/immorality, the account acknowledges some relationship between Tirumālikaittēvar and unorthodox Śaivite groups, while working carefully to disengage him from those traditions.

Unorthodoxy was, however, an ambiguous term in South India at the time. As Hélène Brunner-Lachaux has pointed out (⁴⁰), the *Āgamas*, which provide the basis of Tiruvāṇṭūṭurai's Śaiva Siddhānta, do not make any real attempt to distance their Śaivism from that left of centre. Any group devoted to Śiva which accepted the authority of *tantra* (scripture = *Āgama*) was considered orthodox, and the *Āgamas* happily listed *Paśupatas*, *Somas*, *Lalūlas*, along with the *Śaivas*, who in turn were subdivided into *vāma*, *dakṣiṇā* (right), *miśra* (mixed), and *siddhānta* (definitive), as groups following traditions of revealed scripture. The loyalty of the *Āgamas* lay with the last group, the *Śaivasiddhāntins*, sometimes called *Śuddhaśaivas* (pure Śaivas), or sometimes simply *Śaivas*, but the texts did not shy from association with the other groups. As indicated by their patronage of such groups, some of the Cōla kings apparently felt the same way. This evidence is corroborated by the puranic account, which plainly tells us that Karuvūrttēvar, who completed the consecration of the king's temple at Gankaicōṇṭācōlapuram, was a *vāmacārin*. But the directions of royal patronage do change, as do understandings of orthodoxy. When Cāttiram Cāminātamunivar was

(³⁹) A.R.E., no. 103 of 1925

(⁴⁰) 'Les catégories sociales védiques dans le Śivaïsme du Sud', JA, IX, 1964, pp 451-72

compiling the *Turaicaiṭṭuppurāṇam* in the 18th century, well-established feelings about orthodoxy and unorthodoxy might have cast aspersions on a *maṭam* which housed an image of *cittar* who had some sort of connection with *vāma* practices. Maybe in the end, this is what Tiruvāṭṭuturai's hagiographic account of Tirumāḷikaitṭēvar is telling us — that the *āṭṭṇam* owes some of its tradition to Tirumāḷikaitṭēvar, but that it prefers to keep that memory hidden. In its written chronicles, the institution has edited out any reference to Tirumāḷikaitṭēvar, but its ritual practices are perhaps a more conservative medium. There Tiruvāṭṭuturai's collective memory seems to be acknowledging a spiritual debt to Tirumāḷikaitṭēvar, though the nature of that debt is opaque. We can never know exactly why, but as I suggested above, the reasons may well relate to patterns of patronage and changing understandings of legitimacy.

Chos drug and bKa'-babs bzhi Material for a Biography of the *Siddha* Tilopa

by FABRIZIO TORRICELLI

The six doctrines (*ṣaḍdharma*; *chos drug*) dealt with in the *Ṣaḍdharmaopadeśa* ⁽¹⁾ (*ṢDbU*) are the *yoga* of the inner heat (*caṇḍālī*; *gtum-mo*), of the illusory body (*māyākāya*; *sgyu-lus*), the dream *yoga* (*svapna*; *rmi-lam*), *yoga* of the clear light (*prabhāsvara*; 'od-gsal), of the intermediate existence between death and new birth (*antarābhava*; *bar-do*) and of transference of the conscious principle ⁽²⁾ (*saṃkrānti*; 'pho-ba). The *ṢDbU*, which is attributed to Tilopa himself in the colophon, assigns instruction (*upadeśa*; *man-ngag*) on the six *dharma*-s to four *guru*-s thus:

Cāryapa ⁽³⁾	<i>caṇḍālī</i>
Nāgārjuna ⁽⁴⁾	<i>māyākāya</i> and <i>prabhāsvara</i>

(*) I wish to thank Prof. Ramón N. Prats who gave me precious help in the drafting of this paper with his useful suggestions, offering a valuable example of scientific rigour.

⁽¹⁾ We are acquainted with this brief work through the Tibetan translation: *Chos drug-gi man-ngag*, in *bsTan-'gyur*, *rGyud-'grel*, vol. LXXIII (*pu*) fol. 129b.2 of the sNar-thang edition, IsMEO Library, Rome; vol. LXXIII fol. 134b.2 of the Běijīng edition, Ōtani University, Kyōto (*Tibetan Tripiṭaka*, vol. LXXXII, no. 4630, pp. 34-35); vol. LI (*zbi*) fol. 270a.7 of the sDe-dge edition, IsMEO Library; vol. LI fol. 270a.6 of the Co-ne edition, Library of Congress, Washington.

⁽²⁾ Examination of these techniques would go beyond the scope of this biographical study. In view of the type of material involved and the different research methodology, a separate study will have to be devoted to the six *dharma*-s said to be 'of Nāropa' (*Nā-ro'i chos drug*) in Tibet: the editing and translation of the *ṢDbU* are therefore postponed to that occasion.

⁽³⁾ Cāryapa, for which Tsārya-pa is the Tibetan transliteration and sPyod-pa the translation, is the abbreviation of Kṛṣṇācārya (Nag-po spyod-pa): the honorific title *ācārya* forming a compound with Kṛṣṇa (Nag-po), in turn a Sanskrit version of the Apabhraṃśa Kāṇha or the Prakrit Kāṇupā (Kāṇhupāda) (Shahidullah 1928: 25; Tagare 1948: 20). Apparently this is not the disciple of Jālandhara (Hādipā) and author of the *Dobākoṣa*, but a spiritual descendant of his who bore the same name and is also referred to as Kṛṣṇācārya 'the young' (*rGya-gar chos-'byung*: 268; *bKa'-babs bdun-ldan*: 44; *Life of Kṛṣṇācārya/Kāṇha*: 83, 87) and who may well be identified as the *ācārya* known as Balin active in the first half of the 11th century (*Deb-ther sngon-po*: 243, 372).

⁽⁴⁾ The Nāgārjuna (Nā-gārdzu-na) associated with Tilopa, not to be confused with the founder of the Madhyamaka school, could be the alchemist of the late 10th century mentioned by al-Bīrūnī (Tucci 1930: 213; Naudou 1968: 85-96); as we shall see, this alchemist can be identified with Advayaajra, and thus probably with Dāmodara and Maitrīgupta (Tucci 1930: 210, 214).

Lavapa (°) *svapna*
 Sukhasiddhī (6) *antarābhava* and *saṃkrānti*

These forms of instruction can be traced back to what the Tibetans call the 'four *bka'*-*babs*', there being four lineages along which they finally came down to the *guru* of Nāropa (7).

A widely attested Tibetan tradition has it that when asked the name of his master, the Bengali *mabāsiddha* Tilopa would answer: 'I have no human masters. My *guru* is Sarvajña (Thams-cad-mkhyen)!', which gave rise to general incomprehension and incredulity. Realizing the risks involved in this sceptical response, he thought better to link himself to four distinct lines of human transmission.

Scholars are inevitably faced with the problem of these 'transmissions', which is concisely summed up in the introduction to a photostat reproduction of Mon-rtse-pa's *bKar-brgyud gser-'phreng* (8):

Tradition records that Tilopa received four distinct currents (bka'-babs) which he passed on to Nāropa; unfortunately Tibetan sources differ considerably as to the lineage and content of each of these currents.

In fact the problem is two-fold: a) who were Tilopa's — direct or indirect — masters? b) for which teachings was he indebted to each of them?

Sifting through the hagiographic sources rapidly leads to the conclusion that the second question is still far from receiving any satisfactory solution: the material is too incoherent, too riddled with discrepancies to construe with real precision. When we

(°) Lavapa (La-ba-pa), alias Kambala, is associated by Tāranātha (*rGya-gar chos-'byung*: 246; *bKa'-babs bdun-ldan*, chapt. iv) with Lalitavajra and an Indrabhūti, while 'Gos lo-tsa-ba gzhon-nu-dpal (*Deb-ther sngon-po*: 362-63) suggests the interesting possibility of identifying him with an Indrabhūti, probably Indrabhūti II (Snellgrove 1959: 12-13).

(6) Mention is found of a Sukhasiddhī (Su-kha-siddhi) *ḍākinī* contemporary with Nāropa's consort Niguma in the *Deb-ther sngon-po* (p. 731), where she is associated with a Virūpa — evidently the Virūpa active in the 11th century (Dowman 1985: 52).

(7) The Tibetan *bka'-babs* refers to the condition of descent (*babs*) of the spiritually authoritative word, whether of command or permission (*bka'*; *āpā*). It may refer to the fact of the 'descent', the content of the 'word', the person uttering it or the person it is addressed to: in all cases, however, it retains a decidedly dynamic connotation. As Chos-rgyal Rin-po-che of the monastery of Tashijong (H.P.) pointed out in a recent conversation with the author of this study, it also calls on those who are to take on active responsibility. It is precisely this semantic versatility that creates such difficulty in finding a translation to fit all cases. However, on the basis of Chos-rgyal Rin-po-che's authoritative opinion we have opted for 'transmission' to translate *bka'-babs* in this biographical context.

(8) *Dkar brgyud gser 'phreng*. A golden rosary of lives of eminent gurus, compiled by Mon-rtse-pa Kun-dga'-brug-dpal, reproduced photographically from the original Bhotia manuscript with an English introduction. (Smanrtsis Shearig Spendzod) Leh 1970, pp. 2-3.

come to the four *bka'-babs* masters, however, we have a relatively good chance of bringing the terms of the problem into focus.

The Tibetan sources considered for comparison with and, possibly, to complement the information offered by the *SDhU*, are:

- α Mar-pa Chos-kyi-blo-gros (1012-97), *Ti lo pa'i lo rgyus*, in *bDe mchog mkba' 'gro sryan rgyud*, kha: *brGyud pa yid bzbin nor bu'i mam par thar pa*, fols. 1b-11b ⁽⁹⁾.
- β rGyal-thang-pa bDe-chen-rdo-rje (13th century), *rJe btsun chen po Tilli pa'i mam par thar pa*, in *dKar brgyud gser 'phreng*, fols. 1a-22a ⁽¹⁰⁾.
- γ Grub-thob O-rgyan-pa Rin-chen-dpal (1230-1309), *Te lo pa'i mam thar*, in *bKa' brgyud yid bzbin nor bu yi 'phreng ba*, fols. 7a-26a ⁽¹¹⁾.
- δ rDo-rje-mdzes-'od (13th century), *rJe Te lo pa'i mam thar*, in *bKa' brgyud kyi mam thar chen mo rin po che'i gter mdzod dgos 'dod 'byung gnas*, fols. 27a-43b ⁽¹²⁾.
- ε Mon-rtse-pa Kun-dga'-dpal-ldan (1408-1475?), *rGya gar gyi grub thob bka' bzhi'i mam par thar pa*, in *dKar brgyud gser 'phreng*, Ka, fols. 1a-12a ⁽¹³⁾.

⁽⁹⁾ This short work, which Mar-pa appears to have dedicated to his son Dar-ma mDo-sde, is included in a collection of texts of the Mar-pa dKar-brgyud-pa tradition compiled by Sher-kha Ras-chen, Kun-dga'-dar-po and Byang-chub-bzang-po in the first half of the 16th century. Photostat reproduction: *Bde mchog mkba' 'gro sryan rgyud* (Ras chub sryan rgyud). A manuscript collection of orally transmitted precepts focussing upon the tutelaries *Cakrasamvara* and *Vajravārāhī*, representing the *yig-cha* compiled by Byang-chub-bzang-po, reproduced from a rare manuscript in the library of Apbo Rimpoche. New Delhi 1973, vol. I, pp. 8-28.

⁽¹⁰⁾ The English preface to the reproduction of the manuscript has the following observation to make on the author of this collection of hagiographies: 'no biography of this master is immediately available, but it is known that he was a disciple of rGod-tshang-pa mNgon-po-rdo-rje (1189-1258), the last guru whose biography appears in this collection'. The manuscript can be dated to the latter half of the 15th century or the first half of the 16th century. Photostat reproduction: *dKar brgyud gser 'phreng*. A thirteenth century collection of verse hagiographies of the succession of eminent masters of the 'Brug-pa dKar-brgyud-pa tradition by Rgyal-thang-pa bDe-chen-rdo-rje, reproduced from a rare manuscript from the library of the Hemis Monastery by the 8th Khamts-sprul Don-brgyud-ni-ma. (Sungtrab Nyamso Gyumphenl Parkhang) Tashijong Palampur 1973, pp. 16-57.

⁽¹¹⁾ Like rGyal-thang-pa, O-rgyan-pa was a disciple of rGod-tshang-pa. However, he completed the teachings of this guru with the instruction he received from a *dākinī* in Uddiyāna (Tucci 1940; 1949: 90-91). Photostat reproduction: *Bka' brgyud yid bzbin nor bu yi 'phreng ba*. A precious rosary of lives of eminent masters of the 'Bri-guā-pa dKar-brgyud-pa tradition by Grub-thob O-rgyan-pa Rin-chen-dpal, reproduced from a rare manuscript containing three supplemental biographies of teachers of the Smar-pa dKar-brgyud-pa tradition from the library of the Ven. Kangyur Rimpoche. (Smanrtais Shearig Spendzod) Leh 1972, pp. 14-52.

⁽¹²⁾ Photostat reproduction: *Bka' brgyud kyi mam thar chen mo rin po che'i gter mdzod dgos 'dod 'byung gnas*. A collection of lives of the successive masters in the transmission lineage of the 'Bri-guā Bka'-brgyud-pa tradition in the Nepal-Tibet borderlands by Rdo-rje-mdzes-'od, reproduced from a rare manuscript from Limi Dzang Pegyelung, n.p., 1985, pp. 53-86.

⁽¹³⁾ The manuscript conserved at Takna in Ladakh brings together a collection of hagiographies following the 'Ba-'ra 'Brug-pa dKar-brgyud-pa tradition. *Op cit*, pp. 2-23.

- ζ Mon-rtse-pa Kun-dga'-dpal-ldan (1408-1475?), *Ti lo Shes rab bzang po'i nam par thar pa*, in *dKar brgyud gser 'phreng*, Kha, fols. 12a-23b ⁽¹⁴⁾.
- η gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka Sangs-rgyas-rgyal-mtshan (1452-1507), *Ti lo pa'i nam thar*, in *bDe mchog mkha' 'gro snyan rgyud*, Ga: *bDe mchog mkha' 'gro snyan rgyud keyi gzbung 'brel sa gcad dang sbrags pa*, fols. 9b-20a ⁽¹⁵⁾.
- θ lHa-btsun Rin-chen-rnam-rgyal (1473-1557), *Sangs rgyas thams cad keyi nam 'phrul rje btsun Ti lo pa'i nam mgyur*, Ms. A, fols. 1a-24a; Ms. B, fols. 1a-38a ⁽¹⁶⁾.
- ι dBang-phyug rGyal-mtshan (16th century), *rje btsun Ti lo'i nam par thar pa*, Ms. A, *rje btsun Ti lo pa dang Nā ro pa'i nam thar rin po che*, fols. 1b-68a; Ms. B, *bKa' brgyud gser 'phreng rgyas pa*, fols. 1a-45a ⁽¹⁷⁾.
- x 'Bri-gung Chos-rje Kun-dga'-rin-chen (1475-1527), *bKa' babs bzhi'i brgyud pa'i bla ma rnams keyi nam thar*, in *bKa' rgyud bla ma rnams keyi nam thar rin chen gser 'phreng*, fols. 1b-11a ⁽¹⁸⁾.

⁽¹⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 23-46.

⁽¹⁵⁾ This biography of Tilopa is contained in the collection belonging to the oral tradition transmitted by the disciple of Mi-la-ras-pa, Ras-chung rDo-rje-grags (1084-1161), known as *Ras-chung snyan-rgyud*. The collection was compiled at the end of the 15th century. Photostat reproduction: *bDe mchog mkha' 'gro snyan rgyud* (*Ras chung snyan rgyud*). Two manuscript collections of texts from the *yig cha* of Gtsang-smyon He-ru-ka, reproduced from 16th and 17th century manuscripts belonging to the Venerable Dookpa Thosay Rimpoche. (Smanrtsis Shearig Spendzod) Leh 1971, vol. I, pp. 22-43.

⁽¹⁶⁾ A disciple of gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka, the author faithfully follows the teachings and contents of the oral tradition going back to Ras-chung — a tradition his master had recorded in his *bDe-mchog snyan-rgyud*. Photostat reproduction of Ms. A: *Rare Dkar-brgyud-pa texts from Himachal Pradesh. A collection of biographical works and philosophical treatises, reproduced from prints from ancient western Tibetan blocks by Urgyen Dorje*. New Delhi 1976, pp. 37-83. Photostat reproduction of Ms. B: *Bka' brgyud pa bagriographies. A collection of nam thar of eminent masters of Tibetan Buddhism, compiled and edited by Khams sprul Don brgyud Nyi ma*. (Sungrab Nyamso Gyunphel Parkhang) Tashijong Palampur 1972, pp. 1-75.

⁽¹⁷⁾ The text of Ms. A is a part of the same *bKa' brgyud gser 'phreng* which is complete in Ms. B. It was compiled by another disciple of gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka in 1523 (Nālandā Translation Committee 1986: xxxii). Photostat reproduction of Ms. A: *The biographies of Tilopa and Naropa by Dba'-phyug-rgyal-mtshan. Rje btsun Ti lo pa'i nam par thar pa zab gal rin chen gter mdzod bskal bzat yid 'pbrog. Mkhos mchog Nā ro Pa chen gyi nam par thar pa dri med legs bsad ble chen 'brug sgru*, reproduced from a manuscript from Dzongkebul Monastery in Zangskar. (Kargyud Sungrab Nyamso Khang) Darjeeling 1976, pp. 1-157. Photostat reproduction of Ms. B: *Bka' brgyud gser 'phreng rgyas pa. A reproduction of an incomplete manuscript of a collection of the lives of the successive masters of the 'Brug-pa Dkar-brgyud-pa tradition reflecting the tradition of Rdzong-kebul in Zangskar established by Grub-dba' Nag-dba' tshe-rin*, reproduced from a manuscript preserved in Zangskar. (Kargyud Sungrab Nyamso Khang) Darjeeling 1982, pp. 9-97.

⁽¹⁸⁾ There follows a biography of Tilopa: *rje btsun Ti lo pa'i nam thar dbang bzhi'i chu rgyun*, fols. 11b-13b; however, fol. 12 of the text, which presumably contained information on the four lines of transmission, is missing. The text concerning Tilopa's predecessors (*bKa' babs bzhi*) and the biography (*nam-thar*) make up the first two chapters of a short *bKa' rgyud gser 'phreng* composed in 1508 by the last abbot of 'Bri-gung monastery to follow the pure 'Bri-gung *bKa' brgyud-pa* tradition. In fact, after him the rNying-ma-pa school gradually took over. Photostat reproduction: *Miscellaneous writings (bka'*

Mar-pa, the Tibetan who not only translated the *Ṣaddharmopadeśa* but also wrote the earliest biography of Tilopa we have direct knowledge of — designated here with the letter α — only attributes paternity to four of the six instructions dealt with in the *ṢDbU*. Moreover, α also includes a strophe that, with few variants, appears in much of the literature in question: 'Nāgārjuna, Cāryapa, Lavapa, Subhaginī (sKal-ba-bzang-mo): these are my masters of the four-fold transmission' (19):

[4a.4] de yang lho phyogs kyi rgyud nas sa la bhe ha ra zhes bya ba dbang phyug chen pos byin gyis rlabs pa'i dur khrod yod de / der phyi nang gi mkha' 'gro ma rnams kyi tshogs kyi 'khor lo bskor ba'i tshe bram ze'i khye'us byon te / tsarya pa la gdam pa dang zhus / slob dpon chen po la wa pas // grong khyer chen po'i brang mdo ru // bcu gnyis bar du gnyid log pas // phyag rgya chen po'i dngos grub thob // ces pas 'od gsal zhus / klu sgrub btsal bas dur khrod de na brtul zhugs spyod pa'i rnal 'byor pa ma tang gi spyil po cig na sgom gyin 'dug te / klu sgrub dri za'i rgyal po la chos bshod du song / skyes bu khyed rjes su 'dzin pa la nga btang pa yin gsung / der maṇḍala phul te zhus pas / dpal gsang ba 'dus pa'i dkyil 'khor dngos su sprul nas dbang bskur / brgyud bshad pas sems kyi ngo bo mthong / der lha khang cig na zhang po'i brgyad stong pa cig sgrog par / bud med gcig byung nas 'di'i don shes sam zer / ma shes byas pas 'o na ngas bshad kyi zer nas [4b] de'i don bshad / he badzra dang / 'khor lo sdom pa'i dbang bskur dang rgyud bshad / lu hi pa'i dgongs pa 'di lter yin pas bagoms shig zer / [...] [5a.4] der khyed kyi bla ma su yin zhes pas nga la mi'i bla ma med // klu sgrub tsarya la ba pa // skal ba bzang mo bdag gi ni // bka' babs bzhi'i bla ma yin // zhes pas / klu sgrub la sgyu lus / tsarya pa la rmi lam / la wa pa la 'od gsal / mkha' 'gro ma la gtum mo zhus te snyan brgyud kyi chu bo chen po pa bzhi zhes grags so //

Ms. α

Cāryapa	<i>svapna</i>
Nāgārjuna	
Mātāṅgīpa	<i>Gubayasamāja</i> and <i>māyākāya</i>
Lavapa	<i>prabhāsvara</i>
Subhaginī	<i>Hevajra, Saṃvara</i> and <i>caṇḍālī</i>

Differing from α , rGyal-thang-pa, the author of β , wrote a hymn in praise of Tilopa

'bum tbor bu) of 'Bri-gung Chos-rje Kun-dga'-rin-chen, reproduced from the rare manuscript from the library of Tokden Rinpoche of Gangon, containing a biography of Chos-rgyal Phun-tsbogs-bkra-sbis (1547-1602). (Smanrtais Shearig Spendzod) Leh 1972, pp. 2-21.

(19) Mss. α , γ , δ , ζ , η , θ , ι , κ . While α , ζ and κ put Nāgārjuna first, followed by Cāryapa, the others invert the order. Note the alternation between the name sKal-ba-bzang-mo (Subhaginī), attested in α , γ , δ , ζ and κ , and Kun-tu-bzang-mo'i rnal-'byor-ma (Samantabhadri Yoginī), in η , θ and ι , suggesting that both might be identified with Sukhasiddhī in the *ṢDbU*.

giving Deṅgipa, Karṇaripa, Mātāṅgīpa and Lavapa as the *guru*-s responsible for transmission:

[2a.4] 'gro ba gzhan dag spro dga'i phyir // lding ki pa dang ka rna pa // ma tang ki dang la ba pa // bka' bzhi bla ma sten la bstod //

The chapter containing an explanation of this strophe also includes a detailed account of the four lineages, differentiating between lines of transmission connected with the method of development or evocation (*utpannakrama*; *skyed-rim*) and perfection (*sampannakrama*; *rdzogs-rim*) for each of them:

[9b.7-13b.4] sa ra ha [...] gsang ba'i bdag po phyag na rdo rje byon nas byin gyis rlob par 'gyur ces lung stan nas [...] lo i pa [...] rgyal po dha ri ka pa [...] lding ki pa zhes bya ba ste / slob dpon tilli pa'i bla ma cig yin no // skyed rims nas rdo rje gdan bzhi'i bka' babs so / rdzogs rims nas 'pho ba grong 'jug gi bka' babs so / bka' babs dang po'o // [...] su ma ti kun tu bzang mo [...] thang lo [...] shing lo [...] slob dpon chen po ka rna ri pa zhes bya ba ste / [...] des yang slob dpon chen po tilli pa la gdams pa yin te / bla ma de nas skyed rims nas ma ha ma ya'i bka' babs / rdzogs rims nas rmi lam dang sgyu lus kyi bka' babs so / bka' babs gnyis pa'o // [...] blo gros rin chen [...] slob dpon klu sgrub [...] ma tang ki [...] skyed rims nas bde mchog gi bka' babs / rdzogs rims nas phyag rgya chen po dang zung 'jug gi bka' babs so / bka' babs gsum pa'o // [...] gsang ba'i bdag po phyag na rdo rjes / slob dpon chen po dom bi he ru ka byin gyis rlabs so / [...] de lta bu'i slob dpon chen po dom bi he ru ka des / slob dpon chen po la ba pa'i rgyud byin gyis brlabs so // slob dpon chen po la ba pas / rje btsun chen po tilli pa'i rgyud byin gyis brlabs so // bla ma de nas skyed rims nas dges pa rdo rje'i bka' babs / rdzogs rims nas 'od gsal dang gtum mo'i bka' babs so / bka' babs bzhi pa'o //

Ms. β

Vajrapāṇi

Saraha

Lūpa

Dārikapa

Deṅgipa

Catuḥpiṭha and *saṃkrānti*

Sumati Samantabhadri

Thang-lo-pa

Shing-lo-pa

Karṇaripa

Mahāmāyā, *svapna* and *māyākāya*

Ratnamati

Nāgārjuna ⁽²⁰⁾

Mātāṅgīpa

Samvara, *mahāmudrā* and *yuganaddha*

(20) Alias Advaya vajra: [12b.4] *gsang mtshan gyis med rdo rje zhes bya bar btags*.

Vajrapāṇi
Dombi Heruka
Lavapa

Hevajra, prabhāsvara and caṇḍālī

The author of γ, O-rgyan-pa, goes no further than mentioning Cāryapa, Nāgārjuna, Lavapa and Subhaginī without associating them with any teaching:

[11b.1] mi'i bla ma med par bstan pa'i yon tan ni / te lo pas mkha' 'gro ma la chos gsan / grub pa thob zhes grags pa song bas / mi thams cad ltad mo la 'dus te / thams cad kyis khyod kyis bla ma su yin ces dris pa la / te lo pa'i zhal nas / nga la mi'i bla ma med / nga'i bla ma thams cad mkhyen / ces gsungs pa dang / gsum pa mi blo dman pa thams cad kyis sems la ma shong nas / de dag dad par bya ba'i phyir / mi'i bla ma yod par bstan pa ni / tsarya klu sgrub la ba pa // skal ba bzang mo nga'i ni // rka babs bzhi'i bla ma yin // ces gsungs so //

The author of manuscript text δ, rDo-rje mDzes-'od, indicates six lines of transmission: two non-human, four human. The first two are oral instruction beyond words (*smyan-rgyud yi-ge-med-pa*) received directly from the *dākinī* Vajrayoginī in Uddiyāna and the various tantric cycles containing secret *mantra*-s (*guhya*mantra; *gsang-sngags*) received from the *bodhisattva* Vajrapāṇi. For the human masters of Tilopa, the author indicates four different lineages with relevant teachings:

[33b.1] gnyis pa myi'i bla ma myed par bstan pa ni / rje te lo pas o rgyan du ye shes kyis mkha' 'gro ma la chos dngos su gsan nas grub pa thob ces thams cad du grags pa la gzhan dag gis khyed bla ma gang mjal / khyod kyis bla ma su yin 'drir byung ba la / nga la myi'i bla ma myed / nga'i bla ma thams cad mkhyen / ces gsungs so // dā ki ma mams kyis kyang nam mkha' las / bden pa gnyis la mngon 'gyur te lo pa / rig pa'i gnas lnga dag la mkhas pa de / khyod la myi'i bla ma yod myed de / khyod kyis bla ma gang yin thams cad mkhyen zhes gsungs so // gzhan thams cad myi'i bla ma myed pa myi rigs zer nas ma dad do // // gsum pa gzhan ma dad pa spang ba'i phyir / myi'i bla ma yod par bstan pa ni / rnal 'byor gyi dbang phyug te lo pa la / sangs rgyas kyis rgyud pa gnyis / grub thob kyis rgyud pa bzhi ste ka babs drug mnga' ba [34a] las / sangs rgyas kyis gnyis ni / nub phyogs o rgyan du dus sgum gyi sangs rgyas thams cad kyis yum bcom ldan 'das ma rdo rje rnal 'byor ma la snyan rgyud yi ge myed pa gsan pa dang / shar phyogs kyis ri me dpung 'khrigs pa'i dur khrod du / dpal phyag na rdo rje la gsang sngags kyis rgyud sde mtha' dag gsan cing khong du chud par mdzad do // grub thob kyis rgyud pa bzhi la / slob dpon 'phags pa klu sgrub dang mjal ba ni / lho phyogs bha len tar ba lang rdzi'i tshul du bzhuks pa'i tsho / slob dpon bha len ta'i nags tshal na bum pa bzang po bsgrubs pas / grub pa dang mjal nas / pha rgyud gsang ba 'dus pa la brten pa'i gsal stong sgyu lus 'od gsal gi gdams ngag gsan no // [...] [34b.5] slob dpon la ba pa chen po nas brgyud pa'i rgyud dgyes pa rdo rje la brten pa'i bar do 'od gsal gyi gdams ngag rol pa rdo rje dang mjal nas gsan no // slob dpon chen po lu hi pa nas brgyud pa'i bde mchog gi rgyud sde rnams / rnam par rgyal ba'i zhal snga nas mjal nas [35a] gsan no // slob dpon chen po bram ze sa ra ha nas brgyud pa'i phyag rgya chen po ri khrod dbang phyug dang mjal nas gsan no // yang la las mkha' 'gro ma skal ba bzang mo las rgyud sdom pa rgya mtsho la brten nas / las rgya dang 'pho ba bar do'i ka babs bzhi ste / de ltar grub thob kyis ka babs so // yang la la dag gis / slob dpon tsarya

pa las / rgyud bde mchog la brten nas gzhi lam 'bras bu gsum gyi chos / gtum mo'i ka babs
ces kyang bzhed do // de ltar yang / tsarya klu sgrub la ba pa // skal ba bzang mo nga'i ni
// ka babs bzhi yi bla ma yin // zhes gsungs so // zhar la indra bho dhi ltsogs pa yin zhes
gsung ngo //

Ms. 8

Cāryapa	<i>Samvara, betu-mārga-phala and caṇḍālī</i>
Nāgārjuna	<i>Gubhasamāja, māyākāya and prabhāsvara</i>
Lavapa	
Lalitavajra (Rol-pa-rdo-rje)	<i>Hevajra, antarābhava and prabhāsvara</i>
Subhaginī	<i>Śrī-Ḍākārṇava-mahātantrarāja</i> ⁽²¹⁾ , <i>karmamudrā, saṃkrānti and antarābhava</i>
Lūipa	
Vijayapāda (rNam-par-rgyal-ba)	<i>Samvara</i>
Saraha	
Śavareśvara (Ri-khrod-dbang-phyug)	<i>mahāmudrā</i>
Indrabhūti ⁽²²⁾	

In terms of lineages, but not of teachings, the order emerging from ɛ, by Mon-rtse-pa, conforms to the tradition previously attested in β, the only variant being the addition of Indrabhūti after Lavapa ⁽²³⁾.

Ms. ɛ

Vajrapāṇi	
Saraha	
Lūipa	
Dārikapa	
Ḍeṅgipa	<i>mahāmudrā</i> (fols. 3b-6a)

⁽²¹⁾ *sDom-pa rgya-mtsho*; cf. *Deb-ther sngon-po*: 390.

⁽²²⁾ However, he records none of his teachings.

⁽²³⁾ As the author of the Introduction to the photostat reproduction of the manuscript containing ɛ points out (p. 3, fn. 8), the lineages recorded by Mon-rtse-pa are 'in almost complete agreement' with those recorded by rGyal-dbang Kun-dga'-dpal-'byor (1428-1476) in his *dKar-brgyud chos-'byung* (ed Punakha, fol. 2a): a) *Phyag-rgya-cben-po'i bka'-babs*: *Phyag-na-rdo-rje, Bram-ze Sa-ra-ba, Lo-ba-pa, Dba-ri-ka-pa, Ding-gi-pa, Ti-lī-pa*. b) *Pha-rgyud bka'-babs*: *gSang-bdag, Sa-bcu-dbang-phyug Blo-gros-rin-cben, Klu-sgrub, Ma-tang-gi, Ti-lī-pa*. c) *Ma-rgyud mni-lam-gyi bka'-babs*: *Su-ma-ti Kun-tu-bzang-mo, Thang-lo-pa, Sbring-lo-pa, Karma-ri-pa, Ti-lī-pa*. d) *'od-gsal gyi bka'-babs*: *Phyag-na-rdo-rje, Ḍomebi He-ru-ka, Bi-nā-sa, La-ba-pa, Indra-bo-dbi, Ti-lī-pa*.

Ratnamati

Nāgārjuna

Mātāṅgipa

pitr-tantra (fols. 6a-8a)

Sumati Samantabhadri

Thang-lo-pa

Shing-lo-pa

Karparipa

mātr-tanta and *svapna* (fols. 8a-12a)

Vajrapāṇi

Ḍombi Heruka

Lavapa

Indrabhūti

prabhāsvara (fol. 8a)

In ζ, Mon-rtse-pa himself sets out the information contained in α once again:

[16b.3] de nas mi thams cad kyis / te lo pas u rgyan nas mkha' 'gro ma la chos bsan nas grub
pa thob zhes grags pa chen po byung te / de mi rnams na re / khyed kyī bla ma su yin dris
pas / ti lo pa'i gsung gis / nga la mi yi bla ma med // nga'i bla ma thams cad mkhyen // byas
pas [...] / klu sgrub tsarya la ba pa // skal ba bzang mo nga yi ni // bka' babs bzhi yi bla ma
yin // zhes byas te / de yang slob dpon klu sgrub las sgyu lus kyī bka' babs // tsarya pa las
rmi lam gyi bka' babs // slob dpon la ba pa las 'od gsal gyi bka' babs // skal ba bzang mo nas
gtum mo'i bka' babs so //

Ms. ζ

Cāryapa

svapna

Nāgārjuna

māyākāya

Lavapa

prabhāsvara

Subhaginī

caṇḍālī

The apparent intention of gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka, the author of η, was to complete the information obtained from Mar-pa in ṢDhU and α:

[13b.3] mi rnams kyis khyed grub pa thob pa'i bla ma su la thug zhes 'drir byung pa la / nga
la mi yi bla ma med // nga yi bla ma thams cad mkhyen // ces gsungs pas / mi rnams ma dad
pa skyes pa las de ldog phyir bka' babs bzhi'i bla ma rten tshul stan te / tsarya klu sgrub la
ba pa // kun tu bzang mo'i rnal 'byor ma // bka' babs bzhi'i bla ma yin // zhes gsungs pa'i
don / nag po spyod pa las gtum mo dang rmi lam / klu sgrub las sgyu lus / la ba pa las 'od
gsal / su ma ti kun tu bzang mo las 'pho ba dang bar do'i bka' babs pa'o //

In θ IHa-btsun closely complies with his *guru*:

(A: 7b.5) [B: 11b.1] mi rnams kyis khyed kyī grub pa thob pa'i bla ma su la thug zhes 'drir

byung ba la / nga la mi'i bla ma med // nga yi ⁽²⁴⁾ bla ma thams cad mkhyen // ces gsungs pas / mi rnams ma dad pa skyes pa las / de zlog ⁽²⁵⁾ pa'i phyir bka' babs bzhi'i bla ma rten tshul stan ⁽²⁶⁾ te / tsarya klu sgrub la ba pa // kun tu bzang mo'i rnal 'byor ma // bka' babs bzhi'i bla ma yin // zhes gsungs pa'i don / nag po spyod pa la gtum mo dang rmi lam / klu sgrub la sgyu lus / la ba pa la 'od gsal / su ma ti kun tu bzang mo la 'pho ba dang bar do'i bka' babs pa'o //

Mss. η and θ

Cāryapa ⁽²⁷⁾

caṇḍālī and *svapna*

Nāgārjuna

māyākāya

Lavapa

prabhāsvara

Sumati Samantabhadri ⁽²⁸⁾

saṃkrānti and *antarābhava*

In the other disciple of gTsang-smyon, dBang-phyug rGyal-mtshan, seems to reconcile the evident discrepancies between the information contained in *§DbU*, α, γ, δ, ζ, η and θ on the one hand and β and ε on the other — at least in terms of lineages. In fact he distinguishes between two lines of transmission: an ordinary line (*thun-mongs-kyi bka'-babs*) and an extraordinary line (*thun-mongs-ma-yin-pa'i bka'-babs*):

(A: 23a.5-24b.3) [B: 16a.1-16b.3] rje btsun ti lo pa la mi rnams (23b) kyis khyed grub pa thob pa'i bla ma su la thug zhes 'drir byung ⁽²⁹⁾ ba la / nga la mi yi ⁽³⁰⁾ bla ma med // nga yi ⁽³¹⁾ bla ma thams cad mkhyen // ces gsungs pas / mi rnams ma dad pa skyes pa las / de zlog phyir / bka' babs bzhi'i bla ma bsten ⁽³²⁾ tshul bstan te / rje btsun ti lo pa'i bka' babs bzhi'i bla ma'i ngos 'dzin la / thun mongs kyi bka' babs bzhi ni ⁽³³⁾ / gsang ba'i bdag po / sa ⁽³⁴⁾ ra ha / lo hi pa / dha ri ka pa / lding gi pa rnams la phyag rgya chen po'i bka' babs / lding gi pa la rje btsun ti lo pas bka' gzan pa'i tshul bstan pa ni bka' babs dang po'o // byang chub sems dpa' blo gros rin chen / klu grub / ma tang gi rnams la pha rgyud kyi bka' babs / ma tang gi la rje btsun ti lo pas bka' gzan pa'i tshul bstan pa ni bka' babs gnyis pa'o // su ma ti /

⁽²⁴⁾ *nga'i* A.

⁽²⁵⁾ *bzlog* B.

⁽²⁶⁾ *bstan* B.

⁽²⁷⁾ Alias Kṣṇācārya.

⁽²⁸⁾ Alias Samantabhadri Yoginī.

⁽²⁹⁾ *'byung* B.

⁽³⁰⁾ *mi'i* A.

⁽³¹⁾ *nga'i* A.

⁽³²⁾ *bstan* A.

⁽³³⁾ *na* B.

⁽³⁴⁾ / om. B.

shing⁽³⁵⁾ lo pa / thang lo pa / ka rna ri pa rnams la ma rgyud kyi bka' babs / ka rna ri pa
 (24a) la⁽³⁶⁾ rje btsun ti lo pas bka' gsan pa'i tshul bstan pa ni bka' babs gsum pa'o // bhir
 wa pa⁽³⁷⁾ / dom bhi pa⁽³⁸⁾ / bhi na sa / la ba pa / indra bho dhi⁽³⁹⁾ rnams la 'od gsal dang
 gnyis med rgyud kyi bka' babs / indra bho dhi⁽⁴⁰⁾ la rje btsun ti lo pas bka' gsan pa'i tshul
 bstan pa ni bka' babs bzhi pa'o // thun mongs ma yin pa'i bka' babs bzhi ni / rje btsun ti
 lo pas nag po spyod pa la gtum mo dang⁽⁴¹⁾ rmi lam⁽⁴²⁾ gyi⁽⁴³⁾ bka' gsan pa'i tshul bstan
 pa ni bka' babs dang po'o // [16b] khu grub la sgyu lus dang pha rgyud kyi bka' gsan pa'i tshul
 bstan pa ni bka' babs gnyis pa'o // la ba pa la 'od gsal dang⁽⁴⁴⁾ gnyis med rgyud kyi bka' gsan
 pa'i tshul bstan pa ni⁽⁴⁵⁾ bka' babs gsum pa'o // su ma ti⁽⁴⁶⁾ kun tu (24b) bzang mo la ma
 rgyud dang 'pho ba bar do'i bka' gsan pa'i tshul bstan pa ni bka' babs bzhi pa'o // rje btsun
 ti lo pas / tsarya klu grub la ba pa // kun tu bzang mo'i⁽⁴⁷⁾ rnal 'byor ma // bka' babs bzhi'i
 bla ma yin // ces gaungs so //

Ms. 1

Thun-mongs-kyi bka'-babs

Vajrapāṇī

Saraha

Lūipa

Dārikapa

Deṅgipa

mabāmudrā

Ratnamati

Nāgārjuna

Mātāṅgipa

pitṛ-tantra

Sumati Samantabhadri

Shing-lo-pa

Thang-lo-pa

Kaṇaripa

mātr-tantra

⁽³⁵⁾ / om. B.

⁽³⁶⁾ *ka rna ri pa* (24a) *rnams la ma rgyud kyi bka' babs / ka rna ri pa la A.*

⁽³⁷⁾ *bīr wa pa A.*

⁽³⁸⁾ *ḍo bbi pa A.*

⁽³⁹⁾ *indra bbo dbi A, inṭa bbo dbi B.*

⁽⁴⁰⁾ *indra bbo dbi A, inṭa bbo dbi B.*

⁽⁴¹⁾ *dang / B.*

⁽⁴²⁾ *smin lam B.*

⁽⁴³⁾ *kyi A.*

⁽⁴⁴⁾ *dang / A.*

⁽⁴⁵⁾ *ni / B.*

⁽⁴⁶⁾ *ti / A B.*

⁽⁴⁷⁾ *po'i A, mo B.*

Virūpa (Bhir-wa-pa)

Dobi Heruka

Bhi-na-sa

Lavapa

Indrabhūti

advaita-tantra and *prabhāsvara*

Thun-mongs-ma-yin-pa'i bka'-babs

Cāryapa

caṇḍālī and *svapna*

Nāgārjuna

māyākāya and *piṭṭ-tantra*

Lavapa

prabhāsvara and *advaita-tantra*

Sumati Samantabhadri

saṃkrānti, *antarābhava* and *māṭṭ-tantra*

In x Kun-dga'-rin-chen links Tilopa with Nāgārjuna, Cāryapa, Lavapa and Subhaginī and goes on to reconstruct the lineages ⁽⁴⁸⁾:

[3a.1] klu sgrub tsarya la ba pa // skal ba bzang mo nga'i ni // bka' babs bzhi'i bla ma yin
// zhes gsungs pas / dang po ni / rdo rje 'chang gis in dra bho ti / klu'i rnal 'byor ma / des
bī su ka pa / sa ra ha / klu sgrub / ma tang ki las pha rgyud gsang ba 'dus pa / de'i rdzogs
rims / rim lnga dmar khrid / gdan bzhi'i rgyud man ngag dang bcas pa / grong 'jug rnams te
bka' babs dang po'o // rdo rje 'chang / ye shes kyi mkha' 'gro ma tsarya pa la rgyu 'phrul chen
mo 'i rdzogs rims sgyu ma gsum rgyud sogs / sgyu lus kyi skor rnams gsan te / bka' babs gnyis
pa'o // rdo rje 'chang / phyag na rdo rje / dom bhi pa / bhi na badzra / zla ba pa la rgyud
sde mtha' dag gi dgongs pa'i don / 'od gsal gtso bor gyur pa'i rdzogs rims sra ba'i skor rnams
gsan te / bka' babs gsum pa'o // rdo rje 'chang / phyag na rdo rje / slob dpon yan lag med
pa'i rdo rje / padma badzra / mkha' 'gro ma skal ba bzang mo / de las dpal dgyes pa rdo rje'i
rtsa bahad kyi rgyud rnams dang / de las brten pa'i gtum mo gtso gyur gyis gdams pa chos
drug la sogs gsan pa ni / bka' babs bzhi pa'i rgyud rims so //

Ms. x

Vajradhara

Jñānaḍākinī

Cāryapa

Mahāmāyā and *māyākāya*

Vajradhara

Indrabhūti

Nāgayoginī (Klu'i rnal-'byor-ma)

Viśukalpa (Bī-su-ka-pa)

Saraha

Nāgārjuna

⁽⁴⁸⁾ For similar reconstruction cf. EOB, under 'Bkaḥ-brgyud-pa'.

Mātāṅgīpa

Gubryasamāja, Pañcakrama ⁽⁴⁹⁾,
Catuhpiṭha and *saṃkrānti*

Vajradhara
Vajrapāṇi
Dombi Heruka
Bhi-na-badzra
Lavapa

'several' *tantra*-s and *prabhāsvara*

Vajradhara
Vajrapāṇi
Anaṅgavajra (Yan-lag-med-pa'i rdo-rje)
Padmavajra
Subhaginī

Hevajra and *caṇḍālī*

In conclusion, if we accept the names as attested in the *Ṣaddharmopadeśa* lessons, the association between the *guru*-s of the four *bka'*-*babs* with the six *dharma*-s (when it occurs) suggests the following order of concordance:

	ṢDbU	α, ζ	δ	η, θ, ι	κ
<i>caṇḍālī</i>	Cāryapa	Sukhasiddhī	Cāryapa	Cāryapa	Sukhasiddhī
<i>māyākāya</i>	Nāgārjuna	Nāgārjuna	Nāgārjuna	Nāgārjuna	Cāryapa
<i>svapna</i>	Lavapa	Cāryapa		Cāryapa	
<i>prabhāsvara</i>	Nāgārjuna	Lavapa	Nāgārjuna	Lavapa	Lavapa
<i>antarābhava</i>	Sukhasiddhī		Sukhasiddhī	Sukhasiddhī	
<i>saṃkrānti</i>	Sukhasiddhī		Sukhasiddhī	Sukhasiddhī	Nāgārjuna

The order immediately prompts a number of reflections. If we may reasonably assume some proportion between the reliability of information and its closeness to the original fount, then the earliest and thus most authoritative sources should be the *ṢDbU* and α. The trouble is that contradictions are already present here; indeed, the discrepancies among more recent sources seem to derive from the inconsistencies in these two (with the exception of κ). This is all the more disconcerting when we consider that both should be connected with the figure of Mar-pa — in one case as co-translator ⁽⁵⁰⁾ (*ṢDbU*), in the other as author ⁽⁵¹⁾ (α). Common sense suggests

⁽⁴⁹⁾ *Rim-lnga*, although Kun-dga'-rin-chen actually cites the title of a work by Bu-ston: *Rim-lnga dmar-kbrid*.

⁽⁵⁰⁾ Colophon to *ṢDbU*: grub pa'i mal 'byor dbang phyug tilli pa'i zhabs kyi zhal snga nas medzad pa rdzogs so // rgya gar gyi mkhas pa nā ro paṇḍi ta dang / mar pa lbo brag pa chos kyi blo gros kyi kha cbe'i gnas paṣpa ba rir bsgyur ba'o

⁽⁵¹⁾ Colophon to α: dpal gro bo lung di dgon par / sras mdo sde'i don du yi ger bkod pa rdzogs so.

two possible solutions: either, for reasons unknown to us, Mar-pa altered the information he had translated in the *ṢDbU* when he came to write α , or at least one of the two colophons is inaccurate and the co-translator of the *ṢDbU* and the author of α are not in fact the same person. In either case, although we are still nowhere near any final certainties, the fact that the *ṢDbU* is also connected with the names of Nāropa and Tilopa himself makes it just that much more reliable.

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Hands of the Bodhisattva The Standardization of Mudrās in Japanese Buddhist Sculpture Prior to A.D. 1200

by CARL B. BECKER

Introduction

When the uninitiated observer first confronts the Buddhist pantheon of Japan, his reaction may border on bewilderment or dismay. Far from the ascetic agnosticism taught by Gautama, Buddha-like deities are available to answer every material or spiritual need. They wear regal robes or deerskins; they sit, stand, or fly; they have their own *sūtras*, temples, and guardians. Perhaps most confusing of all, they gesticulate: they wave their hands up and down; hold pots, ropes, and flowers; make mystic circles, and scratch their chins. However, when we distinguish the roles and functions of each individual character, and clarify the time period and religious sect for which each image was sculpted, the standardization and uniformity of Buddhas given the same name and function emerges unmistakably.

It is the purpose of this study to attempt to identify the periods and reasons of the standardization of hand-gestures of Japanese Buddhist sculptures. The limitations of this project are numerous. Chronologically we confine our attention to the era ranging from the introduction of Buddhism to the Japanese court up to the end of the Heian [1] period (roughly 600-1200 A.D.). Geographically, almost all of the sculptures considered lie in the area between Okayama, Ōtsu, and Wakayama [2]. We shall avoid consideration of paintings and tapestries, and of the many mountain sculptures in trees and boulders, of ancient but indeterminable date. We shall limit our survey to the cases of seven central Buddhist figures: Shaka [3], Miroku [4], Yakushi [5], Dainichi [6], Fudō [7], Amida [8], and Kannon [9] — omitting many others.

The research methodology was very straightforward, if highly time-consuming. The researcher observed photographs of early Buddhist statues (mostly of the Heian period), noting temple, date, medium, and *mudrā*, with sufficient other details to prevent duplication. As the count moved from the dozens into the hundreds, simple 'tally cards' were used. There is thus a slight possibility that the statistics presented in

(*) All photos are by the Author.

this report contain an occasional duplicate — i.e., the same statue's *mudrā* counted twice — but error is probably under 5% ⁽¹⁾.

However, there may be many Buddhist sculptures not depicted in the standard works to which the researcher had access. Thus the statistics here are only a sampling, hopefully representative, of Heian statuary. They are used advisedly, to substantiate some generalizations about sculptural trends, but by no means purport to be an exhaustive census. It is hoped that the historical and philosophical data included herein will also help the reader to understand some of the reasons behind the variation or standardization of a given Bodhisattva's *mudrā*.

A further word of introduction is in order about the use of *mudrās* in general ⁽²⁾. The use of gestures in communication is clearly a pre-historic and world-wide phenomenon. The use of specific hand positions in sculpture to convey specific meanings probably began in India around the time of Christ. These hand positions were taken directly from Vedic dances. The earliest *mudrās*, like the raised hand, had many possible interpretations (e.g. welcome, peace, teaching, subjugating, etc.). As the philosophy and number of esoteric deities expanded, more individual and precisely distinguishable *mudrās* were required to identify each god and his separate roles and functions.

Buddhism took a thousand years to reach Japan from India. But in the Nara period [10] (8th century) and thereafter, *mudrās* were often transmitted from India to China and Japan in a matter of decades, as in the famous transmission from Vajrabodhi to Kūkai [11]. *Mudrās* were also designed to stimulate psychological response in their observers. Some were taken as the objects upon which Buddhist monks would focus their meditations. Others were imitated by worshippers, particularly in esoteric Shingon [12] rites, each finger and position acquiring distinct implications. For unknown reasons, the Japanese occasionally reversed Indian and Chinese *mudrās* from left to right with little compunction.

Śākyamuni

Both philosophically and chronologically, it seems proper to start any study of Buddhist statues by considering those of Śākyamuni (the historic Gautama Buddha) [13]. As so often has happened in the history of religions, the founder himself had requested that no images be made of him, but within four centuries of his death, imaginative sculpted and painted images were proliferating in India. When copied by the Chinese, his Indian features — such as comparatively long ear lobes, and wearing the hair in curls or a topknot — were naturally noted for their very foreignness. Later,

⁽¹⁾ Random cross-checks of all references which included the same sculptures revealed that less than one in twenty had been duplicated in our statistics.

⁽²⁾ The major previous study of *mudrās* in English is Saunders 1960.

such features came to symbolize the wisdom and divinity of the Buddha, and became further accentuated and stylized. Before Buddhist sculpture reached Japan, this practice had become standard in depicting any major member of the Buddhist pantheon.

We learn from the *Nihon-Shoki* [13] that the first image of Buddha brought to Japan officially (552 A.D.) ⁽³⁾ was a Shaka [3] image, cast in gold and copper. Although some traditions maintain that this statue is preserved in Nagano's Zenkōji [14] ⁽⁴⁾, it was more probably (albeit unfortunately) destroyed when cast into the Naniwa [15] canal by the rivals of Soga no Iname [16]. In any case, it is clear that the earliest Buddhist religion in Japan paid homage to the historical Buddha, his enlightenment and teachings; this is reflected by the relative prominence of his statues in the early 7th century. Both Hīnayāna (Jōjitsu [17] and Kusha [18]), and Mahāyāna (Hossō [19] and Sanron [20]) schools honoured Shaka as their primary founder and teacher ⁽⁵⁾.

The Hossō Hōryūji [21] retains the largest and earliest group of Shaka bronzes to be found in Japan. These include the work of Kuratsukuri no Tori [22], strongly influenced by the Chinese temple sculptures of the South and North Dynasties, and a Shaka triad of 623, said to be based on a likeness of Shōtoku Taishi [23]. The Ango-in [24] Shaka — if indeed identical to the one Suiko [25] ordered from Tori in 606 — is much repaired and modified in later periods (see Kidder 1972). At any rate, all of these early works (and presumably their less fortunate forerunner from Paikche) use the same *mudrā*, the *segan-semui-in* [26] (Skt. *varada-abhaya-mudrā*) (Fig. 1). As this is one of the most basic *mudrās* in all of Buddhism, and as it is later adopted by Yakushi [5] and other Bodhisattvas, it warrants a clear interpretation at this juncture.

The *segan-in* [27] is the *mudrā* of holding one hand out (or down) and forward, palm exposed to the spectator. In Wei Dynasty Chinese, Korean, and Suiko Japanese statues, this is always the left hand, although esoteric scriptures stipulate otherwise. In the earliest sculptures, the outstretched hand tends to be flat and rigid; in the Nara and Heian periods, the fingers become increasingly relaxed, rounded, and natural. The *mudrā* and its meaning, however, are the same, so long as the hand remains open and extended. The Sanskrit *varada* means giving, or granting, and may refer either to the giving of the *dharma* [28] (truth) to the world by Gautama (as in cases of Shaka), or to the fulfilling of the vow of a Bodhisattva, in later Mahāyāna contexts. Other Japanese translations for this *mudrā*, such as *mangan* [29] reflect the more mundane Japanese idea that the Buddha is granting present material favours as well as truth or salvation (cf. Saunders 1960: 51 ff.).

⁽³⁾ There were surely Japanese Buddhists in Kyushu [149] before this time, but no clear written records are extant.

⁽⁴⁾ See Eliot 1959: 199, n. 5. Eliot is among our best sources for relating the Japanese tradition to early Buddhism, but he is inclined to overvalue Iranian influences and to criticize Amidism.

⁽⁵⁾ The best summary discussion of Buddhist schools in Japan is to be found in Takakusu 1967.



Fig. 1 - *Segan-semui-in* [26].

The *semui-in* [30], which normally complements the *segan-in*, is the raising of an open hand, palm forward, to nearly shoulder height, with fingers together, pointed upward. Although some scholars (Saunders 1960: 55) have tried to trace this gesture to Greek and even Biblical Psalmist beginnings, it would seem to be more a cross-cultural and timeless than a culture-bound and culture-specific gesture. Tradition holds that the Buddha used this *abhaya-mudrā* to stop the charge of a mad elephant, hence it acquired the meanings of appeasement and the granting of fearlessness. In Buddhism, which philosophically stresses the impermanence of all things (Jap. *Mujōkan* [31]), fear is a major stumbling-block, and fearlessness is thus an important gift. In Chinese and Japanese contexts, however, the idea of preaching also becomes associated with this uplifted hand, and it becomes increasingly difficult to establish that a given statue

of Shaka is actually fulfilling his vows and granting fearlessness, rather than simply preaching the *dharmā*. If our primary concern is iconographic rather than philosophical standardization, however, then the widespread use of this *mudrā* enables us to make some safe generalizations about statues of Śākyamuni in Japan.

This *segan-semui-in* [26], introduced with Shaka from the very inception of Japanese exposure to Buddhism, appears to have remained a standard for Shaka statues throughout the Nara and Heian periods, and even into the Kamakura [32]. As useful cases in point, the Hōryūji's Kaminomi-dō [33] houses a wooden Shaka triad, in a style somewhat reminiscent of the Yakushi of Daigōji [34]. Carved between 980 and 989 A.D., almost four centuries after Tori's original bronzes, it retains the same *mudrā* and posture. So also, the beautiful cherrywood Shaka of Kyoto's Seiryūji [35], carved during the same years, preserves the same *mudrā*, despite its being carved in a different workshop in a different city, by craftsmen trained in Sung Chinese techniques, and using poly-block, rather than single-block, construction. (This Seiryūji Shaka, incidentally, served as a model for many later Kamakura works — Mainichi Shinbunsha 1963: 48, 57). The only slight exception to this generalization might be the cypress Shaka (c. 820?) from the Mirokudō of Murōji [36], whose fingers are so curved that they touch and technically come to form another teaching *mudrā* (discussed

at greater length under Amida) (Kidder 1961: 146). Even the Hakuho [37] bronze miniatures of Shaka in the Tokyo museum, although 'strangely seated in western chair-like posture, preserve this *segan-semui-in mudrā*. Statistically speaking, except for the Murōji case just mentioned, 38 of 38 Heian Shaka statues observed (35 seated, 3 standing) use this *segan-semui-in* ⁽⁶⁾. But as the Buddhist pantheon expanded in the Heian period, Shaka's importance gradually waned, and did not regain prominence until the flourishing of Nichiren [38] in the 13th century.

Miroku

The origins of the saviour Maitreya, (Jap. Miroku [4]) are obscure. His worship blossoms rapidly in 4th century India and 5th century China, and his messianic aspects lead some scholars to postulate an as yet unsubstantiated Zoroastrian or Judaic ancestry (Eliot 1959: 118 ff.). The *Lotus Sūtra*, among others, calls Miroku the lord of an inner palace in the Tuṣita heavens [39]. At the last day, he is expected to descend to establish his paradise by three enlightening lectures to all of his resurrected followers under a dragon-flower tree (De Visser 1935: 672). Religiously and psychologically, he serves much the same function as Amida, by providing salvation to the faithful. On this ground, it is strange that Hīnayāna Buddhists should have accepted so readily one whose grace tends to undermine and replace the need for self-effort which the Buddha himself stressed.

The Hīnayāna schools of Korea welcomed Miroku as well. Among the first images to reach Japan from Kudara was a stone Miroku which Soga no Umako [40] enshrined in a chapel he built in 548. The Korean monk Eji swore that he would meet his pupil Shōtoku Taishi [23] in Miroku's paradise, the year after the latter died (622) (*ibid.*). For two centuries thereafter, Miroku remained the main focus of Japanese hopes for paradise, while Amida remained a fairly inconsequential protector of departed spirits. (Just why these two deities exchanged roles in the 9th century is not completely clear, except for the personal preferences of charismatic leaders like Jikaku [41] and Kūya [42]).

Although originally introduced under the auspices of the Hīnayāna Kusha [18] and Jōjitsu [17] schools from Korea, Miroku soon won as wide popularity among the other Nara schools, as he had already enjoyed in Korea. Perhaps because of the prevailing optimism of the day, this Buddha of the afterlife never became central enough to outstrip Shaka, as did the Amida saviour of the 10th century. A mention of some of the temples where Miroku found an important position will serve to document his fame. Miroku was the central image in Shiga-dera [42], also called Sufukuji [43] (668)

⁽⁶⁾ Our major sources for viewing Heian sculptures were: Bijutsu Shuppansha 1960; Iwanami Shoten 1974; Mainichi Shimbunsha 1963; Nihon Kokuhō Kankōkai 1960; Ōtsuka Kōgeisha 1932; and Shōgakkan 1984.

and Taima-dera [44] (682). The western doors of Yakushiji's Mirokudo [45] depict Miroku's heavenly paradise. The Tōshōdaiji [46], Tōdaiji [47], and later Kōfukuji [48], all included prominent Miroku images. Gyōgi [49] (d. 749), the Hossō priest of Yakushiji who founded Ryōbu-Shintō [50], apparently worshipped Amida and Miroku simultaneously, as Saichō [51] tried to do in founding Japan's Tendai [52] in accord with the *Lotus Sūtra*. However, the 9th century sees the gradual replacement of Miroku by Amida, and except for a brief Tendai revival in the 1060's, Miroku is almost forgotten after that century.

The earliest Mirokus all employ a pensive *mudrā*, coupled with a uniquely relaxed posture called the *lalitāsana* (Jap. *hanka shii-za*) [53] (Fig. 2). This posture is unmentioned in any texts available to the researcher, and is only most rarely used by Shaka or Kannon in Indian sculpture. Miroku's left leg hangs down from his dais in a European manner, the right leg is crossed over the left knee, and the left arm rests on the right instep or ankle. The right elbow rests on the right knee, the hand reaching up to touch the slightly inclined face with a finger or two. This attitude became the diagnostic characteristic for Miroku Buddha in Wei, Tang, and Sung China, as well as in Asuka [54] and Nara period Japan (although some authorities have argued that rare cases of Nyoirin Kannon [55] can also assume the *hanka shii-za* (Saunders 1960: 244). Miroku's other common *mudrā* is the same as that of Śākyamuni: the *segaṇ-semui-in*, discussed above. The *hanka shii-za* posture implies both the ease and elegance of Miroku's paradise, and his pondering sincerely how to save all the beings in the world. The *segaṇ-semui-in*, of course, symbolizes the gifts of charity and fearlessness, which Miroku promises to men through his salvation of them.

Among the prime examples of Miroku in *hanka shii-za* are the camphor wood statues in Nara's Chūgūji [56] and Kyoto's Kōryūji [57]. Their dates and sculptors cannot be placed with confidence, but both show a strong Korean influence, especially in their headdresses, a twin topknot and a 'three-peak-mountain' crown. There is some debate as to whether the little gilded bronze in Nara's Okadera [58] is indeed a Miroku or a Nyoirin, but it certainly resembles the many other Miroku bronzes cast in the late 7th century, like those of the Shijū Hattai Butsu [59] group (?). These pensive and relaxed Mirokus all remind us of hundreds of kindred images in Korea.

However, beginning with the molded clay Miroku in the Taima-dera [44] (682?), Miroku borrows the *segaṇ-semui-in* from T'ang China. Early Heian pieces, like the white sandalwood Miroku of the Tōdaiji (still showing Chinese sculptural influences), and pieces from the 1063 additions of the Enryakuji Jissō-in [60] continue this motif and *mudrā*.

(?) There is some dispute as to whether this was a Nyoirin [55] (cf. De Visser 1935: 322) or a 'standard' Kannon. Even if a Nyoirin, it was unlikely to be many-armed and esoteric at this early date.

Fig. 2 - *Hanka-shii-za* [53].



Fig. 3 - *An'i-shōshū-in* [62].

A puzzle case is presented by Unkei's [61] Miroku in the Kōfukuji [48] (c. 1208-1212) ⁽⁸⁾. His hands form the rather rare *an'i-shōshū-in* [62] (Fig. 3); left hand down, open, and forward in a gesture of 'appeasement' and compassion, right hand elevated with thumb and forefinger making a circle, as in Amida's *mudrās* below. Whether this piece copies the Kōfukuji's earlier Maitreya (installed 1067, burned 1180), or is an original conception by Unkei [61], perhaps influenced by the Amida *mudrās* prominent in his day, is indeterminable. However interesting it would be to unravel this anomaly, this Miroku of Unkei's falls beyond the dates of our study.

In the Heian period on which this study focuses, Miroku is rare, and his scattered examples show little uniformity. Of twelve Heian period pieces found, three continue the *hanka shii-za*, four adopt Shaka's *seigan semui-in*, and five use modified forms with little apparent commonality ⁽⁹⁾.

Yakushi

We noted above that the *seigan-semui-in mudrā* was commonly used in representations of the Buddha, Shaka. An even more pervasive instance of its use may be observed in the case of Yakushi Nyorai [5], the god or Bodhisattva of healing. In India, the origins of Yakushi are obscure. The term *yakṣa*, in Sanskrit, had long been used to refer to local deities and to minor guardians in the growing Buddhist pantheon, but it is uncertain whether this term influenced the Chinese and Japanese name for their healing divinity. In fact, the Buddha and Buddhism had tended to view disease as a natural outcome of previous evil deeds (*karma*), and therefore the role of physical healing is always downplayed in Indian Buddhism. Early scriptural references to the Buddha as a healer are always purely analogical or allegorical (Eliot 1959: 110 ff.). The only reference to any healing Buddhist figure is the description of Bhaiṣajyaguru or Bhaiṣajya-rāja in the *Lotus Sūtra*. It is said that reading the chapter on this Bodhisattva's good deeds has healing effect — but even here, the role of the Bodhisattva himself as healer is minimal.

Curiously, by the 5th century in China, *sūtras* relating to the gilded Eastern Paradise of a healing Buddha were rapidly increasing in number and popularity. Much more in Japan, which used medical criteria in its very decisions to accept or reject Buddhism as a national creed, Yakushi rose to national prominence. The healing benefits which the Japanese had previously sought from local *kami* could be more

⁽⁸⁾ Cf. Tazawa 1958: 68, 80. Actually, the Tōdaiji Miroku has his lower hand reversed, i.e., palm towards himself. This recalls the 'witnessing mudra' or *sokuchū-in* [128] (Fig. 10).

⁽⁹⁾ Mainichi 1963: vol. IV, p. 14. Whether because of antiquity or role confusion, there appears more debate about Miroku's *mudrās* — and about which pieces in fact represent Miroku — than about any other figure considered in this study.

effectively obtained, it seemed, through the offices of this majestic Buddha of healing from abroad. Hence we witness the phenomenon of royalty erecting numerous temples and images for their own family's health, and commoners worshipping there also for those same benefits. In the Nara period, Yakushi became most important through the powerful Hossō sect, in such temples as the Hōryūji [21] and Yakushiji [45]. In a philosophical sense, Yakushi served as the Eastern counterpart of Amida, the Western Bodhisattva. In contrast to the future salvation of Miroku and Amida, Yakushi provided present help; all of them were equally subordinate to Vairocana [63] in the pantheon (De Visser 1935: 542).

In Tendai Buddhism [52], the parallelism of Yakushi and Amida continues, except that Shaka replaces Vairocana as the highest figurehead. It is noteworthy that Saichō [51] himself carved a life-size image of Yakushi for his first worship hall on Mt. Hiei's Enryakuji [64] when only 21 years old (788). In 803, he made four more such images for the safe journey to China of the four ships in which he and the Japanese ambassadors would sail. De Visser devotes substantial space to detailing the construction of Yakushi's various temples in the Heian period, for such purposes as the celebration of Fujiwara birthdays; let it suffice here to note that Yakushi-worship continued prominently until the 13th century (*ibid.*: 557, 563).

Iconographically speaking, Yakushi represents the best available case of a Bodhisattva whose *mudrā*, attributes, posture, etc. are all clearly defined in the *sūtras* — and whose *sūtras* do not conflict on these matters. Yakushi is always expected to be depicted in the *segaṇ-semui-in* [26], conferring blessings and granting fearlessness; in this case, his blessings are the healing of diseases, and the granting of fearlessness in the face of pain, danger, or childbearing. To make this more symbolically obvious, his left hand, pendant in the *segaṇ-in*, may often hold a medicine bowl (*ruri-yakkon* [65], not to be confused with the Buddhist alms bowl, *hachi* [66]). Indeed, the *segaṇ-in* is ideal for such an accessory (although it becomes more difficult for the downward hand to hold the medicine bowl if Yakushi is standing rather than seated on his lotus). Yakushi's right hand is always supposed to be in *semui-in*, but because this gesture was so widely used, a wide tolerance in degree of relaxation and flexure of the fingers came to be allowed (cf. Saunders 1960: 51, 54).

In rare cases, Yakushi's fingers are even curled to such an extent that they border on an Amida *mudrā*. However, unlike Shaka's case, the meaning and intention of Yakushi's *mudrā* never shifts or blurs into that area of teaching. Thus the iconographer remains reasonably justified in calling any relaxed upright hand of Yakushi's a *semui-in*. On very rare occasions, Yakushi may be observed with his hands laying in his lap, thumbs together, in a gesture resembling the *jō-in* [67] (Fig. 4) (*infra*). In this case, however, the *mudrā* is called a *yakkon-in* [68] (Fig. 5) and it either supports a *ruri-yakkon*, as it is well-suited to do, or symbolizes the invisible presence of the healing power by its very position (Saunders 1960: 144). It is not clear quite when or why this deviation from scripture originated. Elisseef holds that this is the most ancient of Yakushi's *mudrās*; perhaps that was the case in China, but in Japan's case, it is

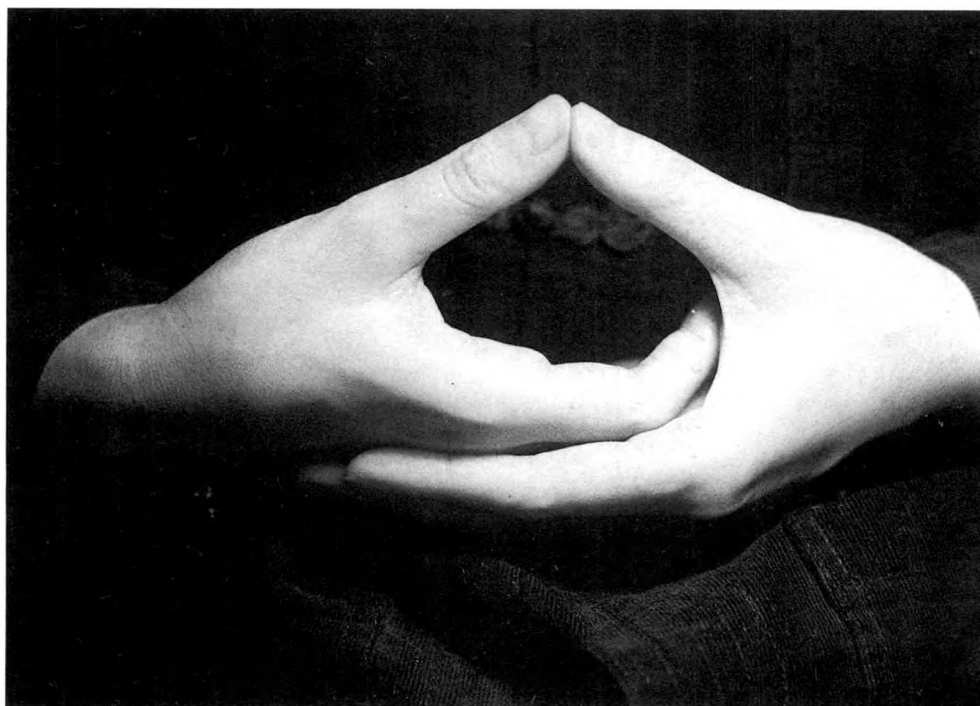


Fig. 4 - *Jō-in* [67].

almost never seen before the Kamakura period (Yamashiro's Hokkaiji [69] is the only case that comes to mind) ⁽¹⁰⁾.

The first Yakushi made in Japan was cast around 607 by Tori or one of his school for the Hōryūji, where it still remains and attests to the strong influence of Northern Wei sculptural style. The Yakushi in the Kondō of Yakushiji [70], a bronze triad with Gakkō and Nikkō [71], showing perhaps the peak of Tempyō [72] bronze artistry (c. 696), and the tall dry-lacquer Yakushi of the Tōshōdaiji (c. 759), both demonstrate the relaxed variation of finger position acceptable within Yakushi's *segan-semui-in* framework (Tazawa 1958: 82). However, the cypress Yakushi of the Shin-Yakushiji [73] (c. 790) shows an assured skill of execution and articulation of outstretched finger joints which becomes a standard, if not a model, for the entire Heian period (Kidder 1961: 135). The double-block Yakushi of Hōryūji's Daikōdō [74] (c. 990) is an excellent example of the continuity of style as well as *mudrā*.

In our statistical study of Heian period Yakushis, 145 out of 146 are carved in *segan-semui-in*, with right hand up and left hand down and/or forward. The

⁽¹⁰⁾ Cited by Saunders 1960.



Fig. 5 - *Yakkon-in* [68].

number of Yakushis holding *ruri-yakkon* is not reliable or significant because they are carved separately, and easily lost, replaced, or even added at a later date. However, approximately 20 of these Heian Yakushis have their fingers so inflected that it is clear that a *ruri-yakkon* was never used nor intended, 34 out of these 146 Yakushis, or about one out of four, are standing, rather than seated in the traditional lotus position. This percentage (as also in the case of Shaka) rises dramatically in the Kamakura period. Perhaps the greater activism or *bushidō* [75] of the age inclined itself more to the strength of the standing posture than to the ease of the contemplative seated representations. For reasons upon which we can only speculate (rejection of traditional scriptures and representations in Zen? or growth of Amidism with its *jō-in mudrās*?), Kamakura period Yakushis are often seen in *yakkon-in*. However, from the 7th to the 13th century, we can assert with assurance that Yakushi is a highly standardized figure, faithful to his scriptural functions and depictions.

Dainichi

While Yakushi was a leading Buddha in Hossō and Tendai traditions (with little Indian precedent), Vairocana [63] or Dainichi [6] was the leading figure in Kegon [76],

Ritsu [77], and Shingon [12] traditions. In this case, the change of era brought a change of philosophy, with concomitant variations in name, role, and *mudrā* of this same Buddha. As in the case of Yakushi, research has failed to establish the origins of Dainichi or Vairocana. In Sanskrit, *vairocana* is one of the titles of the sun, so the etymological connection with *vairocana* is unquestionable, but there is an utter lack of references to this deity in India except in an appendix to the *Lotus Sūtra*, written some 800 years after the Buddha. It seems likely that, like the sun-and-light imagery of Amida, Vairocana was originally a Central Asian concept which took firm root in China (Becker 1981; cf. Eliot 1959: 107 ff.). The Japanese abbreviation Roshana [78], used by Keron and Ritsu schools, is a phonetic approximation of the Sanskrit, whereas Shingon's use of Great Sun (Dainichi [6]) translates rather its meaning instead of its sound. Henceforth, we shall use the term Dainichi, but it should be understood that this refers to Vairocana figures in all of these sects.

The roles of Dainichi Nyorai are among the most intricate and complex of any religious symbol ever used, but this is not the place for an exposition of Hua-Yen and Shingon philosophy, so a brief sketch must suffice. These schools postulate an idealism in which all thoughts, objects, and appearances are essentially one, and interpenetrate and reflect each other. So on the one hand, Dainichi symbolizes this interdependence and interrelatedness of all things. At the same time, he is the underlying principle of the universe, and comes close to being a creator-figure. The universe which Dainichi rules contains an infinite number of worlds like this one, each of which has an infinite number of Buddhas teaching and saving it through an endless history. Dainichi is both the chief instructor of all of these Buddhas, as well as the essence of all of their universes. Since he includes both our material substance and all our thoughts, all action and thought are really his, and really one ⁽¹¹⁾. The problems and ramifications posed by such theories are obviously immense, and this was among the major obstacles limiting Dainichi's followers to a small philosophical élite. It is easily understandable that laymen preferred the healings of Yakushi or the mercy of Kannon to the religious profundities of Dainichi.

The Keron [76] and Ritsu [77] schools established themselves in Japan by the middle of the 8th century, and their colossal Dainichis of Tōdaiji [47] (bronze, 752), and Tōshōdaiji [46] (dry-lacquer, 760) are the two notable examples of the age. Considering the massive resources and labor required by these major temples of the Heijō capital [79], we should hardly expect many other Dainichis in this same period. Since the sun god (and by implication the emperor) was identified with Dainichi by Gyōgi's [49] Ryōbu-Shintō [50], the slow rate of diffusion probably benefited the emperor's centralization of his power around these major temples ⁽¹²⁾.

⁽¹¹⁾ Saunders gives a good capsule summary in his chapter 'Nara Period', in Saunders 1964.

⁽¹²⁾ Coates & Ishizuka 1925: 17. It is regrettable that this commemorative volume is long out of print, for its footnotes are an invaluable storehouse of information.

There appears to be no standard form for Dainichi's *mudrās* prior to Kūkai's founding of Shingon [12] in the early 9th century. Before that time, we find the Sanron [20] Asuka-dera [54] depicting Dainichi with Shaka's *sega-semui-in* (q.v.). The Tōdaiji and Tōshōdaiji Dainichis use modified third-finger *ani-in mudrās*, similar to some used by late Heian Amidas, although utterly unrelated to them. This research has been unable to trace, in the *Dainichikyō* [80] or other scriptures, passages which would influence these early *mudrās*. The Asuka-dera piece may have been imported, the Tōshōdaiji piece was probably designed by Chinese priests under the direction of Ganjin [81] (Mainichi 1963: vol. I, p. 81), and Koreans completed the casting of the Great Buddha of the Tōdaiji (Kidder 1972: 115). Considering this variety of cultural background, the lack of early uniformity is not surprising.

Kūkai [11] returned from two years of study in China in 806, to found the Shingon sect of Buddhism at Tōji [82] in Kyoto, and later to found a mountain monastery on Wakayama's Kōyasan [83]. He carried his own ideas of new and deeply symbolic *mudrās* for his Dainichi and other central figures. His *chi-ken-in* [84] (Skt. *vajra-mudrā*) is almost unknown in Indian iconography (Fig. 6). The fingers of the right hand form a fist around the right thumb, called a 'diamond fist' or *kongō-ken-in* [85]. The second finger may be slightly raised, or its tip tucked under the thumb in some cases. The left hand then forms a loose fist, but the index finger is extended into the diamond-fist from beneath.

This *chi-ken-in* symbolizes 'adamantine knowledge', or the unshakeable concentration leading the devotee to the state of *samadhi*, the realization of Buddhahood. The interlocked hands teach the interpenetrability of the womb and diamond *maṇḍalas* [86], of the spiritual and cosmic with the material and individual. The six fingers used (five of the right hand and one of the left) symbolize the five physical senses or five material elements, surrounding the cognitive sense, or consciousness, respectively (Saunders 1960: 102-7). Beginning with Kūkai's establishment of Shingon Buddhism in Japan, this *chi-ken-in* becomes an exclusive diagnostic characteristic of Dainichi Nyorai. Of course, this *mudrā* lends itself all too easily to Freudian/Jungian sexual interpretations, which indeed cannot be rejected outright. But in view of the Japanese tendencies to minimize sexual elements in tantric Buddhist scriptures, the sexual references of the Dainichi *chi-ken-in* are purely vestigial and inferred; nowhere are they discussed in his *sūtras*. As in the prior case of the *sega-semui-in*, the Japanese Dainichi's hands are reversed, the mirror-image of the pattern of Chinese *mudrās*.

From the Nara period onward, there had always been a rather loose identification of Dainichi with the sun, light, and heat. By the middle Heian period, the more popular Amida had become associated with these same characteristics, and by the 12th century, it is not surprising to find Amida and Dainichi explicitly declared to be the same Buddha. It was the Shingon monk Kakuban [87] who in 1130 officially established a new school called *shingi-shingon* [88] at Negoro [89] (Eliot 1959: 330). This school held that Amida was simply another manifestation of Dainichi, and his Pure Land was really here and now, if we can only perceive it through our meditations. Whether



Fig. 6 - *Chi-ken-in* [84].

Dainichi sits among a host of attendant Buddhas carved a thousand years later than himself, yet the precision and realism of his form are not surpassed by his younger siblings. Slightly older but less elegant Dainichis include those in Kyoto's Tōji [82] (739) and Anjōji [90] (851) ⁽¹³⁾. Of a total of 55 Dainichi sculptures observed from the Heian period, 36 of them (about 2/3) use this same *chi-ken-in* prescribed by Kūkai. Of the remaining 19 Dainichis, 17 of them are shown in the Dainichi *jō-in*, right hand on top of left. Although they cannot be dated precisely, most of these are said to be 'late Heian'. An outstanding example is the Dainichi of Myōryakuji [91], seated on his lotus with hands in *jō-in mudrā*. He has strikingly painted red lips, gold armbands, and an unusual stocking-cap-like crown (Sawa 1972). The remaining two of the 55 Heian Dainichis are odd variations: one forms a Dainichi *jō-in* with the left hand on top of the right; the other forms an Amida *jō-in*, with second fingers bent to form circles with the thumbs. It is just conceivable that the last case is an even further attempt to identify Dainichi with Amida, or that the left-over-right *jō-in* is an unexpected import from China. (It is equally plausible that the sculptors carved in inspiration or ignorance, oblivious to the proper *mudrā* in Dainichi's current tradition).

⁽¹³⁾ Cf. Sawa 1972, which depicts all of these cases.

because of the growth of Kakuban's school, or in addition to it, the 12th century sees a growing number of Dainichis which use a form of the *jō-in* [67] not far from the one most commonly used for Amida.

In Dainichi's *jō-in*, the hands are placed on the lap, one on top of the other, palms up and thumbs touching. Although generally serving as a *mudrā* of concentration, in the case of Dainichi, it may also serve to represent the unity of the spiritual and material worlds. In those rare cases where a Dainichi using a *jō-in* and a Dainichi using a *chi-ken-in* are found in the same hall, the former is said to symbolize the womb world of physical beings, while the latter refers to the diamond world of spirit and principle.

Among the earliest and most famous examples of Dainichi in *chi-ken-in mudrā* is the central gilded carving of Kōyasan's Kongōbuji [83] (c. 888). There the

Despite the rise in *jō-in mudrās* in the late Heian, this is not a case of pure shift from one *mudrā* to the other; *chi-ken-in* and *jō-in* continue to exist side by side throughout the late Heian and Kamakura periods. The famous Dainichi of Nara's Enjōji [92], with delicate crown and embedded crystal eyes, was carved in 1175 by Unkei [61], using the traditional *chi-ken-in*, and this continued to be the most popular *mudrā* at Kōyasan, as found on the Dainichi of the Kongō-sammai-in [93] (1220?). It was probably Dainichi's limited popularity and philosophical integrity (if not impenetrability!) which spared him the greater diversification of *mudrās* which Amida and Kannon occasioned.

Since Dainichi is the principle and essence of the universe, his different qualities and characteristics are more concretely symbolized by different icons, called *Myōō* [94]. The most important of these, Fudō Myōō [7], has almost become an independent divinity in his own right, but still remains associated with the Shingon sect, and hence with Dainichi. The study of the *Myōō* could represent a thesis in itself, so a brief sketch of his meaning and iconography will have to suffice here, but it is most important to note that the forms and accoutrements of the *Myōō* remain far more standardized than those of more major divinities.

Fudō (Skt. *Acala*) is the emanation of Dainichi which is to cut out and bind all evil. His terrible countenance is therefore really benevolent in purpose, and seems dangerous only to the wicked. His attributes of a *vajra* or sword, sometimes flaming, and a rope or chain, coincide with this purpose, and cannot reasonably be interpreted as sexual symbols in the Japanese context (Eliot 1959: 348).

Narita's Shinshōji [95] claims that the Fudō presiding there is the very first Fudō brought from China by Kūkai, and moved from Takaozan [96] during the Taira rebellion. Without better substantiation, however, it seems more likely that the oldest Fudō sculpture in Japan is the one now in Kyoto's Tōji [82], sculpted in 839. In the following century, not only the work of Kūkai, but the love of the mountain monks for this fierce rugged god helped make Fudō popular among rural commoners⁽¹⁴⁾. Perhaps because of his lightning-like sword, he became associated with rain, and was the focus of many mystic services to produce rain in the drought of 960, at the imperial command (Armstrong 1927: 20 ff.). Later, samurai wore Fudō emblems embroidered on their armour for courage, and he was the object of much worship during the Mongol invasions (Sawa 1972: 74-77).

Despite his widespread popularity, Fudō's form was effectively standardized from his first introduction by his single function, prominent attributes, and perhaps by his single introduction (rather than multiple entries at different periods). He has a fierce, sometimes tusked scowl, a red or blue body (the *sūtras* say a *child's* body; De Visser

(14) Because of Fudō Myōō's philosophically minor role and his standardized sculptural iconography, we treat him somewhat cursorily here. He has many fascinating folk traditions, and his colors and forms in Shingon painting show very wide variation.

1935: 510) and a sword and rope held in front of his chest by right and left hand, respectively. In painting and stone bas-reliefs, minor exceptions may occasionally be found to this pattern. But all of the 62 Heian period Fudō Myōo sculptures observable preserve this form precisely, and the other Myōo all appear equally standardized, so it seems unnecessary to consider the standardization of Myōo *mudrās* any further here.

Amida

In the entire history of Japanese Buddhism, by far the most populous and prominent sects have been those which worshipped Amida [8]. The Jōdo and Jōdo-Shinshū [97] sects have been most famous and influential since the Kamakura period. However, it is a too-seldom recognized fact that Amidism took widespread root in the Heian period. In researching Heian period sculpture, Amida's prominence from the 10th century onward is a phenomenon which cannot be ignored, and requires additional historical perspective to cogently explain.

Many scholars believe that the idea of a god of light in a western paradise originated in Persian or Afghani religion (Eliot 1959: 103, 157 ff.); in another article, I have traced its origins to Buddhist meditative and deathbed visions (Becker 1981). Amida (Skt. *Amitāyus*, *Amitābha*) is not mentioned by name until the 2nd century A.D., but references to a western paradise and to salvation by faith alone are roundly condemned by the historical Buddha in the earliest Pāli Canon (*Saṃyutta Nikāya*) [98]. The worship of Amida was continually repudiated by the Hīnayāna countries which remained faithful to the historical Buddha's teachings and scriptures; perhaps the different psychological and mythological traditions of the Far East led China, Korea, and Japan to a more ready acceptance of Amida's salvation by grace.

The earliest mentions of Amida in Japan were by the priest Eon [99] in 640; small votive images and a Hōryūji painting of Amida appear thereafter ⁽¹²⁾. Votive inscriptions tell us that Amidism remained a cult of the dead for over a century, linked only to ancestor-worship. Gyōgi [49], the great Hossō [19] priest of Yakushiji [5] whom we have met before (670-749), also helped to promulgate interest in Amida, but he too thought of rebirth as being in Miroku's Tushita heaven [39], rather than in Amida's Pure Land. In A.D. 761, paintings and *sūtras* of Amida were ordered for all the provincial temples — but even at this date, their purpose was to assist the soul of the late empress-dowager Komyō-kō, and not to save the living (cf. Becker 1981: 168). Both Kūkai [11] and Saichō [51] were of course aware of Amida, and placed him in their esoteric pantheons, although his role remained subordinate to that of Dainichi and Shaka, respectively.

(12) Andrews 1973: 31. The Hōryūji Amida painting may well be from the 8th century.

It remained for Jikaku [41] (794-864), patriarch of the Tendai [52] school, to shift the attention of Tendai towards the worship of Amida. Jikaku returned from a ten-year study in China in 848, to write a major work on Amida ritual, build halls for Amida meditation, and institute a tonal *nembutsu* chant which henceforth (from 851) became an important daily part of Tendai practice. Although causal connections cannot be proven, it is from about this time that a change in Amida's standard *mudrā* occurs, as will be elaborated below. From Jikaku's 'mountain nembutsu' of Hiei-zan [64], the practice must have spread to court circles and commoners alike (Coates & Ishizuka 1925: 36 ff.). Within a century, we find emperors (e.g. Uda [100], d. 931) calling on Amida with faces turned west in their dying moments, and the number of Amida statues in Kyoto temples multiplies. In 960, the 18th bishop of Tendai, Ryōgen [101], composed the first original Japanese work on Amida, soon to be followed by philosophical works by Senkan [102] (919-983) and Zenyū [103] (909-990). Thus, the intellectual base of Amidism was established before the close of the 10th century. The now powerful Jōdo and Shin-shū [97] sects sometimes tend to neglect the early developments of Amidism, to highlight the importance of their founders, Hōnen [104] and Shinran [105]. De Visser, probably the greatest Western scholar of Heian Buddhism, illustrates the fallacy of such views, by enumerating Amidist temples built, *sūtras* recited, and famous Amidists of the 10th century (De Visser 1935: 43, 548-55, 648-55). Particularly important in popularizing Amida's chant of *nembutsu* [106] was the itinerant saint Kōya [107] (or Kūya, 893-972). From the age of sixteen, he began a career of wandering asceticism and teaching, combining popular folk beliefs with orthodox Buddhism. Though Kōya relied on Jū-ichi-men Kannon [108] for healing, carrying statues of his own sculpting through the streets of Kyoto in times of plague, his major contribution was a dancing *nembutsu* which he taught in the streets for thirty years, beginning in 938 (Hori 1970). Kōya's forceful character and lengthy mission did much to interest the commoners of Kyoto in Amida. Thus the ground was well prepared for Ryōgen's student Genshin [109] (942-1017) to write and paint his famous Dante-esque works on Buddhist heavens and hells in the *Ōjōyōshū* [110] (985). Noteworthy in Genshin's teachings are the ideas that Amida's invocation *by itself* is adequate to save sinners, and that the supplicant must hold firmly in mind an image of Amida while making his invocations (Coates & Ishizuka 1925: 38). It was perhaps this latter teaching which encouraged the sculpture of a standard form of Amida through the 10th and 11th centuries. This standard was to change again with Hōnen and the Kamakura religious reformation, but that is beyond the scope of this study. Let us turn our attention now to the specific *mudrās* employed by Amida ⁽¹⁶⁾.

From the Asuka through the Heian periods, there are ten scripturally approved *mudrās* for use by Amida, and their terminology is liable to confusion. They are all typified by the joining of the thumb with the upper joint of one of the fingers of the

⁽¹⁶⁾ Saunders (1960: iv) coins the term 'Amida Mudrā' to cover six *tembōrin-in* and *ami-in* variations.

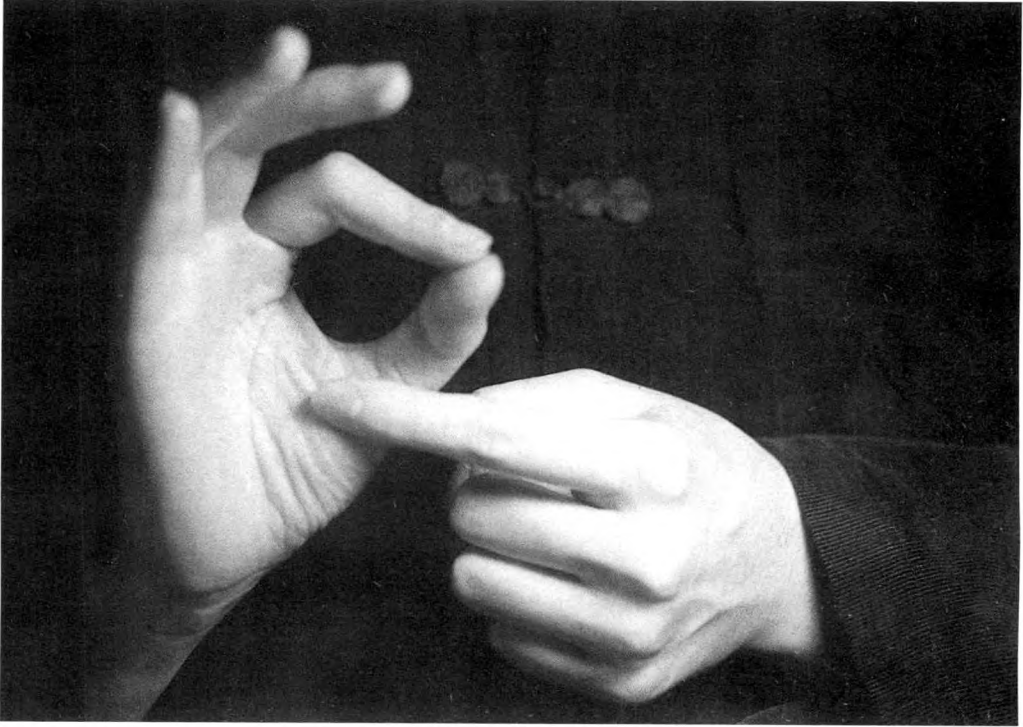


Fig. 7 - *Tembōrin-in* [111].

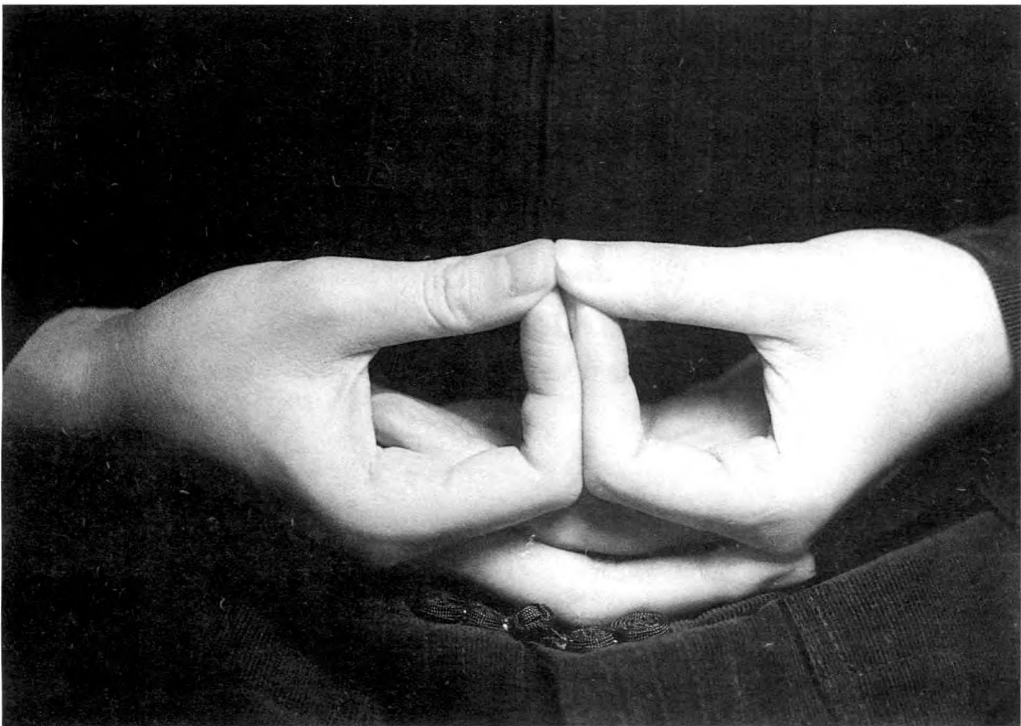
same hand, to form a circle. The three basic positions are the *tembōrin-in* [111] (Skt. *dharmacakra-mudrā*) (Fig. 7) in which both hands are placed in front of the breasts in the position called *uttarabodhi*; the *ani-in* [112] (Fig. 8), in which the right hand is raised and the left hand extended down and forward towards the supplicant (*vitarka-mudrā*), and the *jō-in* [67] (*dhyanā-mudrā*) (Fig. 9), in which the two circle-forming hands are laid together on the lap. The symbolism of the *tembōrin-in* is both the turning (teaching) of the wheel of the *dharmā*, and the recollection of the solar disc, whose light and life Amida promises. The *ani-in*'s upper hand is generally taken to refer to the search for enlightenment, its fingers referring to seekers, self-concerned Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, exoteric Buddhas, and esoteric Buddhas, respectively. The lower hand is extended down towards the creatures it will save; its fingers refer respectively to men, gods, spirits of the dead, animals, and ghosts. The *jō-in* is a *mudrā* of meditation and *samādhi*. Its circles represent the completion and interlocking harmony of the world of Buddhas and the world of Beings, the upper hand symbolizing the upper world (in Shingon, the diamond world).

Since each of these three positions can be made with the second, third, and fourth fingers joined to the thumb, a total of nine 'Amida *mudrās*' results, corresponding

Fig. 8 - *Ani-in* [112].



Fig. 9 - *Amida Jō-in* [8~67].



to nine classes of Amidas and their nine respective grades of believers in the esoteric pantheon (discussed by Ryōgen in his *Nine Grades of Pure Land Rebirth*, 960, as well as by various Shingon *sūtras*, and the *Meditation on Amida* [113] *Sūtra*; Andrews 1973: 33 ff.). The titles of *tembōrin-in* and *ani-in* are somewhat interchanged by Chinese and Japanese sources, so an *ani-in* will occasionally be called a *tembōrin-in*, or vice-versa, but their symbolism remains essentially unchanged.

The tenth form to be described here, probably transmitted through China from Tibet, is an *ani-in* variation which joins the thumb and second finger on the raised right hand, the thumb and middle finger on the lowered left hand. It is also open to extended esoteric interpretations, too lengthy (if not too incredible) to detail here.

The first sculptures of Amida sent to Japan (from Shilla in 689 and China in 691) are probably no longer extant. Throughout the Nara period, Amida was more depicted in paintings or tapestry *mandalas* than in statuary, which again attests to his secondary role in that period. The Hōryūji's Amida triad from the Tachibana Shrine [114] (747?) shows heavy T'ang Chinese influence, and uses a *mudrā* akin to both the *sega-semui-in* of early Shakas and to the modified *ani-in* mentioned here, but the intentions of this early Amida's *mudrā* are not entirely clear ⁽¹⁷⁾. The wide variations in the period 750-850 are exemplified by the cypress piece carved for Nagahara Miyasutokoro [115] in the Kōdo [74] of Kyoto's Kōryūji [57] (833-847), using an esoteric *tembōrin-in* of the fourth-finger type.

From the time of Jikaku's [41] *nembutsu* onwards (851), Amida's sculptures almost all employ the *jō-in* meditative *mudrā* of the second-finger and thumb type. Good examples include the cypress triad in Kyoto's Ninnaji [116] (888-900), the famous giant Amida of the Byōdōin's Hōdō [117] (1053), and Inkaku's [118] Jōchō-style [119] cypress in Kyoto's Hōkōgō-in [120] (1130) ⁽¹⁸⁾. The dominance of this second finger *jō-in* may well reflect its use as the most common posture for meditation upon Amida by the Tendai monks following Jikaku; in any case, it helps the iconographer distinguish Amida from contemporary Shakas or Yakushis whose arms also resemble an *ani-in* posture.

Unfortunately, few of the Amidas observed in the Heian period can be dated specifically with assurance, and it may be dangerous to generalize about 'trends' from a mere dozen reliably datable examples. However, from the datable pieces, it appears that the 12th century saw a gradual shift away from the use of second-finger *jō-in mudrās*, towards the second-finger *ani-in* type, beautifully instantiated by the Jōchō-style gilded carving on its nine-tiered waterweed pedestals in Kyoto's Jōruriji [121] (1108?; Mainichi 1963: vol. III, p. 14). In the Kamakura period, Amida is shown standing rather than seated with increasing frequency; with this shift in posture, his

⁽¹⁷⁾ Sometimes questionable on other items, Münsterberg (1957: 41, 71) appears to be quite right about Amida here.

⁽¹⁸⁾ These cases can all be found in H. Minamoto 1935, and/or in Seiichi Taki 1931.

hands inevitably shift from a lap-cradled *jō-in* to a *tembōrin-in* or *ani-in* (most commonly a second-finger *ani-in*).

Statistically speaking, about 200 Amida sculptures from the Heian period were observed, exactly half of which made a second-finger *jō-in mudrā*. Seventy more, also seated in lotus position, made the second-finger *ani-in*, with right hand raised and left hand lowered. (This uniformity is rather surprising in view of the nine alternatives potentially available from the scriptures; the other forms seem confined to paintings and *maṇḍalas* alone). Twenty other Amida sculptures are standing, with second, third, or second-and-third *ani-in* variants described above. (This 10% of the Heian sample which are standing is a marked contrast to the 70-80% of Kamakura period Amidas which are in standing posture!). Nine more Heian Amida sculptures are seated in *tembōrin-in mudrās*; although some are difficult to see clearly, most appear to be fourth-finger *tembōrin-ins*. The two-hundredth piece, that of Hyogo's Jōdoji [122], exhibits a very unusual *mudrā*; both hands extend down and forward in *sega-in*, but the middle two fingers of the left hand are strongly inflected, almost forming an *ani-in* (*ibid.*: vol. II, pp. 4-6). This piece, however, was sculpted in the last two or three years of the Heian period, sponsored by Chōgen [123] after his return from China. As it uses Sung Chinese techniques (long nails, no hollow back) and style, it cannot really be said to constitute an exception to the regularity of Japanese Heian Amida sculptures.

Kannon

The most popularly loved and widely represented Bodhisattva in the entire Japanese pantheon is that protean god of mercy, Kannon [9]. More than any other figure, the variety of Kannon's shapes and functions would tend to frustrate the observer, but closer inspection shows some trends and continuities within all Kannon's variations.

The origins of Kannon's name and mythology are quite open to question, and in any case too lengthy to detail here. (Eliot [1959: 350 ff.] provides an excellent summary of the etymological debate). Some authorities have tried to connect Fudō with Śiva [124] and Kannon with his female counterpart Pārvatī [125] ⁽¹⁹⁾, but this seems improbable considering that Kannon can seldom appropriately be called male or female, but is rather androgynous. Kannon's basic role, as the bestower of mercy, includes giving children to the childless, providing salvation to (non-Amidist) believers, and taking any shape desired to ease the lot of suffering humans. These shapes are generally confined to 33 deific forms, coinciding with the 33 Kannon temples of various Kannon pilgrimages. Since Kannon is multiform in the very mythology itself, his sculptors have much freer rein to follow their own conceptions of his form; theoretically, almost anything goes. However, we shall limit ourselves

⁽¹⁹⁾ Cf. Sawa 1972, who devotes a substantial chapter to Kannon, and de Mallmann 1948.

in this study to the consideration of the four most common representations of Kannon in Japan.

The commonest and best-preserved statues of Kannon from the period of our study are those of the eleven-headed (*Jūichimen* [108]) type. Although *sūtras* specify that his heads are all of the same size, this is sculpturally almost impossible, and so two tiers of miniature heads generally surmount his normal head, to a total of eleven (or sometimes twelve — unfortunately, this item was impossible to study accurately from frontal-view photographs alone). The Hasedera [126] seems to be the first temple dedicated exclusively to Kannon of the *Jūichimen* type (721), but the Hōryūji murals also depict him at a very early date (De Visser 1935: 642). From the 9th century onward, *Jūichimen* Kannon became the favorite Kannon among Heian temples.

Happily for the art historian, *Jūichimen*'s *mudrās* and attributes are all quite standardized. His right hand is almost invariably hanging down and slightly forward in the open *segan-in* [27], or else a couple of fingers are gently curved inward to support the folds of his loose-hanging draperies. The left arm, bent at the elbow, reaches forward, and holds a vase between the thumb and two fingers. Even when the vase is lost or deliberately omitted, the circle formed by Kannon's finger (or fingers) and thumb implies the presence of the same (Saunders 1960: 62, 184). The vase, as a receptacle, symbolizes that man should also become a receptacle for mercy and truth. The vase is thought to contain the elixir or nectar of life, which is compassion, granted by *Jūichimen* to his supplicants. The vase may contain a lotus, also symbolizing mercy. Recognizing that the presence or absence of vase and flexure of fingers does not alter Kannon's *mudrās* or their implications, a broad uniformity may be observed.

Out of 151 *Jūichimen* Kannon from the Heian period, 149 follow the above formula exactly. The exceptions, like the one in Ōsaka's Dōmyōji [127] (10th century), are also similar (Mainichi 1963: vol. II, p. 53), except that their right forefingers alone point downward in a *mudrā* technically known as the *sokuchi-in* [128] (Fig. 10), symbolizing victory over the demons. But this gesture is utterly inappropriate for Kannon, who is always depicted as a gentle god, and never connected with battling demons. This gesture is otherwise observed exclusively for Shaka, both in scripture and in sculpture. And considering that if one more finger is extended, it again becomes a variant of Kannon's *segan-in*, we are tempted to speculate that the Dōmyōji case is a mistake, carved by one whose intention of symbolism was the same, but did not realize that the change in number of fingers technically changes the *mudrā*'s designation and meaning.

Two other types of Kannon may be treated under the same heading, as their *mudrās* and functions are essentially similar; they are the many-armed types, including 6-armed Fukūkenjaku [129] and Senju [130] (literally thousand-armed, but usually depicted with 42) ⁽²⁰⁾. Although Fukūkenjaku and Senju were introduced to Japan

(20) Fukūkenjaku is sometimes romanized Fukūkenshaku or Fukūkensaku.



Fig. 10 - *Sokuchi-in* [128].

about the same time (710), Senju's popularity awaited the arrival of Ganjin [81], whose teaching at the Tōdaiji after 754 spread the interest and faith in the thousand-armed Senju. Fukūkenjaku can be represented with as many as ten arms, but generally has four or six, like the famous dry-lacquer example in Tōdaiji's Hokkedō [131] (746) which sets the precedent for depicting a third eye in the middle of his forehead. Fukūkenjaku was made the official guardian of the Fujiwara's Kasuga Taisha [132], but soon thereafter he was rapidly outstripped by Senju in popularity among the commoners. In the earliest Japanese Senju, the seated lacquer piece in the Fujii-dera [133] (765?) or the gigantic dry-lacquer statue in the Tōshōdaiji [46] (770?) nearly all thousand arms are faithfully sculpted. However, when the medium changed to wood in the Heian period, after the painstaking execution of the Kōryūji's [57] thousand-armed statue from cypress (830?) Senju was henceforth abbreviated to only 42 arms, symbolic of his infinite powers. Fukūkenjaku and Senju are clearly seen as being different, if related figures; witness their dual presence in the Kōryūji. However, their iconographic meanings and functions are virtually identical.

In both cases, Kannon's multiple arms symbolize an infinite ability to answer any human prayer, whether it be for healing, children, mercy, salvation, safe travel,

or a good marriage. Perhaps it was this ability to answer any kind of prayer which endeared Kannon especially to the Japanese commoners, who have always treated their gods more like supernatural servants to ask for help in time of trouble than like the absolute Holy Other of the western world. Most of Kannon's arms are simply outstretched to render aid, or else bear any of Kannon's dozens of symbolic attributes, each referring to a specific capability or prayer. In every case, the two central arms form the same central *mudrā*: *kenjisshin-gasshō* [134] (Skt. *añjalimudrā*) (Fig. 11). This simple gesture of the hands placed together is the same as that used for greeting in South Asia and for prayer in many Christian contexts. This gesture of homage is never found on statues of Buddhas or high-ranking bodhisattvas, and implies that this Kannon is a lower member of the Buddhist pantheon. The hands folded together under the mouth pay homage to the words of Buddha (the *dharma*) [28]. If some small space is left between the palms, they may additionally symbolize the unopened lotus bud, the implication being that Kannon will make the flower of mercy blossom for his supplicants.

If a second pair of arms makes any *mudrā* beneath the *gasshō*, as often happens in Senju's case, it will probably be a *jō-in* holding a *hachi* [66] (Skr. *patra*), or alms bowl, again symbolizing charity. Unlike the *jō-in* [67] of Amida, however, Senju's second *mudrā* has little reference to meditation, but rather seems the most convenient and balanced posture for a second major pair of arms to assume. Statistics on these many-armed Bodhisattvas will of course be drastically affected by whether or not we count the thousand images of Kyoto's Sanjū-san-gendō [135], which are all virtually identical carbon-copies of each other. In this case, more important than any numerical analysis, it can be observed that *all* of the Fukūkenjaku and Senju Kannon of the Heian period of which the researcher has been able to learn follow the above *kenjisshin-gasshō* or *gasshō-with-jō-in* pattern.

If we should treat as a fourth category a 'normal' or 'standard' Kannon, it is much easier to define him in terms of what he is not than of what he is. By a 'normal' Kannon, we mean one which is not many-armed, -eyed, or -headed, one which is not a madonna-style, fisherman's, horse-breeder's, Nyoirin [55], nor esoteric Kannon. Such a definition by exclusion reveals in part the profusion of specialized Kannon once manufactured, as well as the difficulty in identifying a single standard. Nevertheless, there is a large number of very human-like statues which it seems reasonable to treat in the same category. These range from the early Korean-influenced or imported 'Kudara' Kannon, like the Hakuho bronze in Yakushiji's Tōin-dō [136], and the Guze Kannon [137] of Hōryūji's Yumedono [138] (c. 630) showing strong Northern Wei influence, through four centuries down to the polished cypress piece in the Tōdaiji from the late 12th century, replete with elaborate halo and jewelry. Theologically, this was the god prayed to for healing and all manner of blessings — including the gold required to finish the gilding of the Roshana Daibutsu [78]. It is said that 177 such Kannon were manufactured in the year 728 alone, for the recovery of the imperial prince from an illness; in 740, Emperor Shōmu [139] ordered the

constructions of Kannon in every provincial temple [140] for the health of the nation (De Visser 1935: 643 ff.). Monks intending to become itinerant mendicants, or to set up their own temples in more remote regions, were also required to learn to carve such Kannon figures as part of their religious training. Thus we find, especially in Tōhoku and eastern Japan, some Kannon whose bodies are rough-hewn, with broad chisel-patterns clearly visible, and only the face polished into finer detail (e.g. Iwate's Tendaiji Kannon [141], c. 1000) (Sawa 1972: 118, 144 ff.).

It is in such a context that our statistical methods may be most useful in giving an idea of the range of variations and standardizations. Of 88 Heian period Kannon, only 56 followed the standard pattern of Jūichimen described above (right hand down, left hand holding vase/lotus). Three other statues reversed this pattern, left-to-right. 19 of the 88 Kannon have the left hand in the same vase-holding position, but the right hand lifted near shoulder height, with thumb and forefinger joined in the *ani-in* [112] (cf. under Amida, above). Three more reverse this second model, left-to-right. In three cases, Kannon borrows Shaka's *sega-semui-in* [26]; in four cases, he supports an alms-bowl on a *jō-in mudrā* [67], like the lower central *mudrā* in many Senju Kannon. Mallmann suggests that Kannon's *mudrās* were progressively confused in Japan ⁽²¹⁾; in view of the wide variety discovered here, even in a single period and medium, it is easy to agree. It may be relevant at this juncture to note briefly some of the factors which contributed to this diversity in Kannon sculptures.

We have already recognized that Kannon is a protean deity, thought capable of taking many forms. Secondly, his popularity among the common people in widely scattered regions led to a demand for carvers, presumably not all of whom were intimately familiar with the specific provisions of the Kannon *sūtras* regarding his gestures. When used in a triad (usually with Seishi [142] as his opposite), a need



Fig. 11 - *Kenjisshin-gasshō* [134].

⁽²¹⁾ de Mallmann 1951: 578 (quoted in Saunders 1960: 68); cf. Steinilber-Oberlin & Kuni Matsuo 1938: 117.

for aesthetic balance may have occasionally prompted the reversal of hand positions left-to-right; when alone, the same desire for balance may have led to the *jō-in* or *ani-in* variants, where both arms are at about the same level. Finally, the frequent re-introduction of Kannon figures from the continent, from different Chinese dynasties and centers of origin, produced an irreducible profusion of types even long before the Heian period. In fact, considering the total freedom and range of variations of Kannon *mudrās* before the 9th century, the Heian Kannon, diverse as they seem, probably represent a move in the direction of standardization (Kidder 1972: 15 ff.).

Buddhologically speaking, Kannon is technically a Bodhisattva, but his roles and *mudrās* place him clearly among much lower echelons of heavenly beings. Acting sometimes as a guardian like Gakkō and Nikkō [71], sometimes as a *Ten* like Taishakuten and Kichijō-ten [143], and sometimes as an independent folk idōl like Jizō [144], Kannon is among those figures confounded with many local spirits as well (Münsterberg 1957: 18). The relative variation of his *mudrās* can be taken as representative of the last three classes of beings named. The present study lacks space to deal with all these variations, but such popular deities generally exhibit the profusion and confusion of style of Kannon, rather than the stylized regularity of the esoteric Dainichi. Kannon's case gives good evidence that the variety of a deity's *mudrās* may be proportional to the breadth of his popularly conceived functions and the rate of proliferation of his faith (cf. Warner 1923; 1952: 13-18).

The 'case study' method used in describing the Bodhisattvas and Buddhas above may help us to appreciate the variety and differences in reasons and periods of *mudrā* standardization. However, it necessarily presents a somewhat disjointed picture of the times, and does injustice to historical movements which really affect all Japanese sculpture at once. This concluding section will attempt to categorize the major reasons for standardization — or the lack thereof — and to integrate them within some broader historical perspective. The factors most influential on the development of *mudrās* appear to be geographical, philosophical, and aesthetic.

Geographical Influences

Had natural history granted Japan better stone, ampler materials, or a non-toxic high-grade lacquer, the course of her Buddhist sculpture might have been significantly different (Armstrong 1927: 7-9). As it was, her artists were forced to copy models of Chinese and Korean stone and cave-carvings in their own more plentiful media: clay, bronze, and wood or cloth coated with thin dry-lacquer. However, unfired clay soon crumbles and starts to deteriorate. Japan's bronze and gold was almost totally depleted by the casting of the Tōdaiji's Daibutsu in 751 (Kidder 1972: 115). And lacquer, besides being a toxic and uncooperative medium, could not be procured in the quantity and quality which rising interests in Buddhist statuary were demanding.

With the move of the capital from *Heijō-kyō* [79] to *Heian-kyō* [145] (Nara to Kyoto), old workshops were left behind — and with them, their old media. The 9th century sees almost a complete reversion to the native woods, especially cypress, which was abundant in the forests around old Kyoto. This new use of wood led to uniquely Japanese styles in Buddhist art, and tended paradoxically to produce both variations and standardizations.

Compared with casting bronzes and carving stone, wood-carving is a relatively direct and swift process; by the same token, its skills are much more readily imparted and diffused. When a deity such as Kannon began to achieve importance in the popular consciousness, people in many parts of Japan could select their own trees and chisels and begin to carve deities suited to their own preferences and needs: children, horses, safe travel, or whatever. Eventually, the great Tendai and Shingon monasteries began to recommend, if not require, that the priests they sent out to outlying districts be able to carve their own images. This would indeed have been a difficult demand in any other medium; as it was, it led to the multiplication of styles and *mudrās* among the most popular deities.

In the new capital, however, the use of wood had the opposite effect: an unprecedented speed in image-making and the consequent possibility of mass-production. The *Nihon shoki* [13] describes a man carving a thousand images in a year. If true, this would require carving three a day, hardly giving rise to masterworks. Even if untrue, it reveals the belief that a statue could be completed in a day. Probably this famous sculptor (Ōguchi no Atai [146]), chose one favorite form and repeated it, gradually perfecting his speed and assurance.

Even more important, workshops grew up where pieces were made to fit. Teams of men would work together, some roughing out the image, others putting on details. The inevitable specialization of labor was increased when larger statues were required. For an image more than a meter in diameter, it was difficult to find suitable wood, and the technique was perfected of interlocking numerous blocks to form a single statue. In such a workshop, workmen might become specialists at knees, or heads — or *mudrās*. The rise of the Shichijō and Sanjō Bussho [147] workshops in 11th and 12th century Kyoto may have been a further influence on the standardization of *mudrās* (Tazawa 1958: 36-40).

A second equally important geographical factor concerns Japan's contacts with other Buddhist countries. During the Nara period (and before), Japan drew heavily on Chinese and Korean Buddhism, from contemporary but quite different societies. Japan had few preferences and fewer criteria for iconographic distinctions among the many schools of Buddhism entering at that time. With each introduction of new foreign priests and artists arose new possibilities for the diversity and confusion of *mudrās*. The 9th century, by contrast, saw a gradual decrease in Chinese contact and immigration, together with the growing prosperity and independence of native Japanese nobles and traditions. Thus, after the return of Saichō [51] and Kūkai [11], Heian Buddhism was much less interrupted by visits of foreign artists than previously.

This too was an important factor in *mudrā* standardization; as has been noted above, some of the few exceptions to the normal Heian *mudrā* patterns were occasioned by foreign imports, travel, or influence.

Philosophical Factors

The fact that Japanese Buddhism was all originally imported from abroad had philosophical consequences which also affected the development of *mudrās*. In the Nara period, six different sects of Buddhism competed for prestige and power, each advancing its own favorite doctrines and images. While all sects of Buddhism lived in harmony, even trading priests, rituals, and statuary in China (!), each Japanese sect tried to set itself up as exclusive or superior to all of its rival contenders. This meant that each sect assigned its own ranks and designations to each of the Buddha-figures that it valued, leading to a potential of six different representations for any given figure, although the actual variation was considerably less. When he came from China to standardize ordination procedures, Ganjin [81] may have also brought some *sūtras* to standardize sculptural iconography, but his influence is relatively minor in that area.

The two great philosophical movements in the Heian period of our study are Shingon [12] esoterism and Tendai [52] Amidism, respectively, in the 9th and 11th centuries. The cases of Dainichi and Amida discussed above instantiate the impact of these philosophical movements on *mudrā* sculpture. Leaders of both of these movements, like Kūkai [11] and Kukuban [87] in the Shingon, and Kūya [107] and Genshin [109] in the Tendai, were themselves sculptors and painters, and very concerned with artistic representations of their philosophies. Although Kūkai greatly multiplied the number of figures in the Buddhist pantheon, he also emphasized the individual function and standard representation of each one — and he brought back detailed *sūtras* in both Sanskrit and Chinese to enforce these artistic conventions (Sawa 1972: 58 ff.). While disagreeing on which *sūtras* and bodhisattvas were most important, Tendai and Shingon recognized the validity of the other's iconography for the most part; at least, we can find very few cases of conflicting depictions of *mudrās*. Since Tendai and Shingon remained the major religious forces for more than three centuries, this also lent a stabilizing force to Heian sculptural standards.

These esoteric schools claimed to democratize Buddhism through the doctrine that every man can become a Buddha. They gave unquestionable impetus to the proliferation of Buddhist art, and thus to the layman's awareness of spiritual realms. But the path of meditations and rituals which they prescribed was so rigorous that for practical purposes, the man on the street was still on the outside ⁽²²⁾. Amidism, as the first genuinely popular Buddhist movement, held that no mystic rites nor elaborate

⁽²²⁾ One of Eliot's rare favorable references to esoteric art (1959: 340)

pantheon were required; the grace of Amida alone was enough for the salvation of every believer. Although this movement did not reduce the number of Amida's *mudrās*, the popularity of Amida may have led sculptors to use his *jō-in mudrā* increasingly on statues of Dainichi and Yakushi over the next few centuries, copying the design of the best-selling model. Another clear example of philosophical influence, although marginal to this study, is that in the Kamakura period, many more icons are depicted standing than sitting. This reversal of previous iconography is perhaps a reflection of the increased militarism and activism of the rise of the Shogunate.

Aesthetic Considerations

Arguments continue unresolved as to whether the craftsmen who actually carved these *mudrās* were aware of their religious meanings or purpose. In times where they knew their images' functions and the scriptures which governed them, a greater standardization might reasonably be expected. The facts might be summarized as follows (Warner 1952: 13-18). The first craftsmen from Korea were not monks, but sculptors and casters, familiar with Korean Buddhist iconographic tradition. As they took on Japanese apprentices, they probably imparted knowledge of their own culture along with their techniques. After a few generations, however, the Japanese came to view this as simply the preference of a neighboring culture, and not a sacred path to be religiously followed. Chinese (or Chinese-trained) monks who were also sculptors were likely to be more scrupulous and consistent in their use of *mudrās*, particularly in the ritual-conscious Ritsu [77] and Kegon [76] sects, and the Japanese accorded somewhat higher respect to the monks from China than those from Korea, at least after the 7th century.

With the move to Mt. Hiei and the rise of Tendai Buddhism, we find an increase in monks trained poorly in sculpture, and the birth of Kyoto workshops whose sculptors knew little of Buddhism. In the latter case, however, since sculptures were frequently mass-produced or ordered on commission, the relative ignorance of the sculptors about the meanings of *mudrās* was more than offset by factors leading to their standardization. The granting of the high Buddhist ranks of Hōkkyō and Hōgen [148] to the sculptor Jōchō [119] in 1048, set a precedent which began to bring priests and sculptors together again. By the 12th century, growing numbers of sculptors were entering the priesthood. They probably received their priestly ranks and status more from their artistic talents than from their religious attainments. But this association inevitably improved their acquaintance with the *sūtras* which bore on their sculpture, and further reinforced tendencies towards uniformity.

For sculptors less familiar with the Buddhist implications of their *mudrā*-carving, artistic considerations may have led some to violate what they perceived as loosely-enforced conventions. Such desire for aesthetic balance doubtless influenced the *mudrās* of Senju Kannon, or to the less common portrayals of Kannon with both arms at breast

height (one holding his vase, the other in an *ani-in*). Requirements of balance might also have dictated a reversal of left and right arms, particularly when the sculpture in question was to be paired opposite another. It cannot be established whether this led to the Kamakura tendency to show Yakushi in *jō-in*; he survived 600 years of 'imbalance' at any rate, without sufficiently disturbing any sculptor's aesthetic sense before that period. For the most part, however, it appears that continental contacts, the development of Kyoto's sculpture-workshops, and the growth of unambiguous philosophies were the more important factors influencing the uniformity of *mudrās*. Outside of an occasional exceptional case, it is very hard to prove that the artist's religious training and independent artistic inclinations significantly affect *mudrās* of the Heian period.

Concluding Comments

The appended tabular summary of statistics on Heian statuary graphically illustrates the relative popularity and regularity of the figures discussed above. Some further qualifications should be noted here. It is not uncommon for statues to be reworked, moved, or renamed, in the course of a thousand-year history. We have avoided most cases where art critics themselves dispute the identity of a sculpture. But when a figure in a small Kyoto temple is called 'Amida', using a Dainichi-style *jō-in mudrā*, and his head has been re-worked, how are we to identify him? Should we re-name him on the basis of his *mudrā*, or accept the word of the temple and consider him a rare exception to the Heian standard? Lacking other evidence, it has been the practice of this research to follow the latter practice, accepting the word of the custodial temple in each case.

The same problem arises with *mudrās*. *Mudrā*-expert Saunders himself attributes many names to the same gesture, occasionally confuses *tembōrin-in* and *ani-in mudrās*, and invents the new term 'Amida mudrā' to cover both (Saunders 1960: iv). This study has followed the conventions most commonly followed by the references consulted, and makes no claims to infallibility in this hazy area. In any case, the statistics presented here should be used as relative indices, and not as an exhaustive census. The term '*mudrā* shift' refers to the gradual transfer of emphasis from the primary *mudrā* to the secondary *mudrā*. Dates for this shift are not imagined to be precise — the process always requires centuries — but are indicative of noticeable new trends.

Inevitably, new research leads to new hypotheses, and this essay would close by posing this one. It seems plausible that where variations in *mudrā* or other designs occur in statues of the same deity, this corresponds to a difference in sect or teacher, and that Buddhas of the same sect would tend to use the same *mudrās* for the same figure. This is only a subjective impression derived from the statues studied herein, and only a more detailed investigation of the history of each piece and the original sect of its original temple can establish or negate this tempting hypothesis.

STATISTICAL SUMMARY OF NARA-HEIAN MUDRĀS

Name of Deity (Number Observed)	Commonest Mudrā (number)	Secondary Mudrā (number)	Date of Introduction	Date of Standardization	Date of Mudrā Shift
Shaka (39)	Segan-semui-in (38)		552 A.D.	820 A.D.	(none)
Miroku (12)	Hanka-shii-za (3)	Segan-semui-in (4)	580 A.D.		700 A.D.
Yakushi (146)	Segan-semui-in* (145)	Yakkon-in (1)	607 A.D.		> 1200 A.D.
Dainichi (55)	Chi-ken-in (36)	Jō-in (17)	750 A.D.	800 A.D.	1100 A.D.
Amida (200)	Jō-in (2nd finger) (100)	Ani-in (90)	591 ² A.D.	850 A.D.	1100 A.D.
Kannon (88)	Vase & Semui-in (56)	Vase & Ani-in (19)	630 A.D.	undeterminable	(many)
Jūichimen Kannon (151)	Vase & Semui-in (149)		> 721 A.D.	c. 721 A.D.	(none)

Notes:

Standardization refers to the date when the commonest *mudrā* first dominates, if not from the introduction. 'Mudrā Shift' refers to the gradual transfer of emphasis from commonest to secondary *mudrā*. Dates for the shifts are not intended to be precise; the process always required generations. The figures above should be used as relative indices, not an exhaustive census.

* Yakushi may hold or symbolize the *nuri-yakkon* (medicine jar).

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- 1 平安時代
- 2 岡山、大津、和歌山
- 3 釈迦如来
- 4 弥勒菩薩
- 5 薬師如来
- 6 大日如来
- 7 不動明王
- 8 阿弥陀如来
- 9 観音菩薩
- 10 奈良時代
- 11 空海（弘法大師）
- 12 真言
- 13 日本書紀
- 14 長野・善光寺
- 15 難波
- 16 藤原頼朝
- 17 成実
- 18 俱舍
- 19 法相
- 20 三輪
- 21 法隆寺
- 22 鞍作止利
- 23 聖徳太子
- 24 飛鳥寺・安居院
- 25 推古天皇
- 26 施願・施無畏印
- 27 施願印（与願印）
- 28 仏法
- 29 清願
- 30 施無畏印
- 31 無常観
- 32 鎌倉時代
- 33 上御殿
- 34 慶福寺
- 35 京都・清涼寺
- 36 蓮生寺・弥勒堂
- 37 白鳳
- 38 日蓮
- 39 兜率天
- 40 藤原馬子
- 41 慈覚（円仁）
- 42 滋賀寺
- 43 崇福寺
- 44 当麻寺
- 45 薬師寺・弥勒堂
- 46 唐招提寺
- 47 東大寺
- 48 興福寺
- 49 行基
- 50 阿部神道
- 51 最澄
- 52 天台宗
- 53 半跏思惟座
- 54 飛鳥時代
- 55 如意輪観音
- 56 中宮寺
- 57 広隆寺
- 58 岡寺
- 59 四十八体仏
- 60 延暦寺・実相院
- 61 運慶
- 62 安易所有衆印
- 63 長盛道那如来
- 64 比叡山・根本中堂
- 65 瑠璃函蓋
- 66 鉢
- 67 定印
- 68 薬蓋印
- 69 法界寺
- 70 金堂
- 71 月光菩薩・日光菩薩
- 72 天平
- 73 新薬師寺
- 74 大講堂
- 75 武士道
- 76 華嚴
- 77 律宗
- 78 盧遮那仏
- 79 平城京
- 80 大日経

- 81 雲真
- 82 東寺
- 83 高野山・金剛峯寺
- 84 智拳印
- 85 金剛拳印
- 86 胎藏界・金剛界曼荼羅
- 87 梵唄
- 88 新義真言
- 89 紀州・根來寺
- 90 安祥寺
- 91 妙樂寺
- 92 円成寺
- 93 金剛三昧院
- 94 明王
- 95 成田山・新羅寺
- 96 高雄山・神護寺
- 97 淨土宗・淨土真宗
- 98 阿含經相応部
- 99 羅漢
- 100 宇田天皇
- 101 良源
- 102 千觀
- 103 善祐
- 104 法然
- 105 親鸞
- 106 念仏（南無阿彌陀仏）
- 107 空也
- 108 十一面觀音
- 109 源言（恵心僧都）
- 110 往生要集
- 111 転法輪印
- 112 安慰印
- 113 観無量壽經
- 114 金堂六号壁・橘夫人念持仏
- 115 永原御息所
- 116 仁和寺
- 117 平等院・鳳凰堂
- 118 院寛
- 119 定朝
- 120 法金剛院
- 121 淨瑠璃寺
- 122 小野町・淨土寺
- 123 重源
- 124 善生
- 125 富山女
- 126 長谷寺
- 127 灌明寺
- 128 触地印
- 129 不空羂索
- 130 千手觀音
- 131 東大寺・法華堂（三月堂）
- 132 春日大社
- 133 藤井寺町・葛井寺（剛琳寺）
- 134 堅実心合掌
- 135 靈華王院（三十三間堂）
- 136 薬師寺・唐院堂
- 137 救世觀音
- 138 法隆寺・夢殿
- 139 聖武天皇
- 140 田分寺
- 141 岩手天台寺
- 142 勢至菩薩
- 143 帝釈天・吉祥天
- 144 地藏菩薩
- 145 平安京
- 146 大仏堂
- 147 七条仏所・三条仏所
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*Brief Notes and
Items for Discussion*

On the Iranian Soma and Pers. *sepand* 'Wild Rue'

by GHERARDO GNOLI

While W.B. Henning's account ⁽¹⁾ remains theoretically possible, Professor Gershevitch ⁽²⁾ has advanced a new etymology for the Persian *sepand*, *Peganum barmala*, i.e. 'wild rue'. The prompt for Gershevitch came from recent research by D.S. Flattery and M. Schwartz ⁽³⁾ on the botanical identity of Soma in Iran although — rightly, in my opinion — he does not agree with their conclusions. Moreover, he also departs from Henning on the etymology of *sepand*, and here it is worth noting that Flattery and Schwartz did not contest Henning's etymological reconstruction, which enjoys general consensus, but rather his historical/semantic interpretation.

Henning takes the Persian *sepand* in relation to Avestan *spanta-*, 'sacred', while distinguishing it from the Persian *sepandân* which, as we know, he accounts for with *sepan*, 'mustard', and *dân*, 'grain'. Henning assumed that people given to apotropaic practices could only attribute 'sacred' qualities to what already belonged to the tradition of witchcraft and superstition, adding that the term *sepand* ('sacred') must have been used by devil-worshippers: '[...] for to a *daēvayāsna* or devilworshipper the plant was indeed "sacred"' (*loc. cit.*).

In my opinion this account, which I also considered in a review of the volume by Flattery and Schwartz ⁽⁴⁾, remains valid despite the various arguments these two scholars bring against it. However, there can be no doubt that Professor Gershevitch's contribution casts new light on the problem of the Persian *sepand*. We have in fact seen that it would be possible to reconstruct a new etymology on the basis of the Bāškardi *sipaxt*, 'wild rue' ⁽⁵⁾: *sepand*, 'wild rue' < **spand* < **sprand* < Early Iranian **spranti-* < IE **spreṅkti-* < **spreng-ti*.

However, two pieces of evidence remain to suggest that we should not totally abandon the etymology *sepand* < Av. *spanta-*, and it is worth considering them here. In the first place, there are many forms of the Neo-Iranian name of wild rue which can easily be associated with

⁽¹⁾ 'A Grain of Mustard', *AION*, Sezione linguistica, VI, 1965 (pp. 29-47), p. 39.

⁽²⁾ I. Gershevitch, 'Linguistic Geography and Historical Linguistics', in *La posizione attuale della linguistica storica nell'ambito delle discipline umanistiche* (Roma, 26-28 marzo 1991), Atti dei Convegni Lincei, 94, Roma 1992 (pp. 165-81), pp. 176 ff.

⁽³⁾ *Haoma and Harmaline, The Botanical Identity of the Indo-Iranian Sacred Hallucinogen 'Soma' and Its Legacy in Religion, Language, and Middle Eastern Folklore*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1989.

⁽⁴⁾ *EW*, 39, 1989, pp. 320-24.

⁽⁵⁾ Cf. Middle Persian *sipaxt* 'sprouting, blossoming'; and see M. Schwartz, *op. cit.* (fn. 3), p. 144, on I. Gershevitch's suggestion.

the Avestan *spanta-* ⁽⁶⁾. In the second place, the fifth day — called *esfand* — of the month called *Esfand* (cf. Avestan *Spanta Ārmaiti*, Middle-Persian *Spandarmad*) saw celebration of the feast known as *Esfandagān*, during which wild rue was used in the way Professor Gershevitch described when proposing 'sprouting, blossoming' as the etymological meaning of *sepand*. In fact, there seems to be very close analogy with the case of the *babman* plant used on the second day — called *babman* — in the month *Babman*, of the feast known as *Babmanjane* ⁽⁷⁾. In conclusion, the choice remains between Henning's etymology and Professor Gershevitch's. In the latter case, however, we might also suspect that contamination occurred between a *sepand* deriving, ultimately, from an IE **sprengti-* and a *sepand* that could have included among its antecedents the Avestan *spanta-*, or that might at any rate have been interpreted or perceived as related to it. Of one point there can be no doubt, and that is that the Middle-Persian *spand* postulated by M. Schwartz ⁽⁸⁾ never existed as such.

As for the Middle-Persian **spand* (from an Avestan *spanta*), recurrence is only found as a fossil in compounds such as *Spandarmad* (see above) and *gōspand* '(small) livestock, sheep'. In the place of the Avestan *spanta-* we generally find *abzōnīg*, 'increasing, expansive, beneficial', in Pahlavi. This may represent further evidence in support of Professor Gershevitch's thesis since we are, in fact, unable to document continuity between the Early Iranian and Neo-Iranian phases.

⁽⁶⁾ See table 1 on p. 40 of the above cited volume by Flattery and Schwartz.

⁽⁷⁾ The analogy was also noted by D.S. Flattery himself, *op. cit.* (fn. 3), pp. 78-79, fn. 11, although he came to different conclusions.

⁽⁸⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

To What Extent Buddhism Repudiated Vedic Religion?

by Y. KRISHAN

It is a common, widespread belief among scholars ⁽¹⁾ that Buddhism (as also Jainism) was a heterodox movement which challenged the Brahmanical religious rituals, especially the performance of sacrifices enjoined in the *Vedas*. Buddhism is considered to have repudiated the performance of sacrifices, *yajña*, as useless, nay wasteful for obtaining material prosperity and spiritual gains; the performance of animal sacrifices was strongly condemned. In fact for these reasons Buddhism (as also Jainism) are considered as protest and reformist movements.

A careful examination of the canonical and of the non-canonical religious texts provides unambiguous evidence that the Buddha encouraged laymen to perform their traditional rites

(¹) H. Oldenberg, *Buddha, His Life, His Doctrine, His Order* (1882), Delhi 1971 (repr.), p. 172: 'Buddha discredited the sacrificial system: he censured with bitter irony the knowledge of Vedic scribes as sheer folly if not as shameless swindle'.

E.J. Thomas, *The History of Buddhist Thought*, London 1971 (1st ed. 1933), pp. 11-13 observes: 'The non-Vedic schools definitely rejected the brahminical method of sacrifice and the Vedic lore'. Again the Buddha's teaching 'had to justify itself against the sacrificial system of the current Hinduism'.

A.K. Warder, *Indian Buddhism*, Delhi 1980 (2nd ed.), pp. 155-56, 163 had observed: 'As to the religion of ritual and the sacrifice [...] it was categorically opposed by the Buddha as detrimental to the well-being of society'. The Buddha felt that the Brāhmanas' 'sacrifices [...] are harmful as well as futile, [...] a travesty of the original sacrifice'.

P.L. Vaidya, 'Origin of Buddhism' in *2500 Years of Buddhism*, ed. P.V. Bapat, New Delhi 1956, p. 8 observes: 'The cult of sacrifice which developed out of the prayers in the Vedic Samhitās had a powerful hold on the minds of the early Aryans in India. The elaborate rituals of the cult [...] are said to be responsible for doctrines which challenged the very existence of the cult'. (These doctrines include those of the *Upaniṣads*, Buddhism and Jainism).

B. Walker, *Hindu World*, London 1968, vol. I: 'There is nothing in the life of the Buddha to indicate that he set out to "reform" Hinduism, but some of the doctrines promulgated by him were contrary to many basic Hindu beliefs. Buddha was strongly opposed to religious ritual, to ceremonial worship and the sacrificial system [...]'.
B. Walker, *Hindu World*, London 1968, vol. I: 'There is nothing in the life of the Buddha to indicate that he set out to "reform" Hinduism, but some of the doctrines promulgated by him were contrary to many basic Hindu beliefs. Buddha was strongly opposed to religious ritual, to ceremonial worship and the sacrificial system [...]'.

R.H. Robinson & W.L. Johnson, *The Buddhist Religion: A Historical Introduction*, California 1977, p. 13: 'During this century [6th B.C.] there arose a welter of non-sacerdotal religious teachings which pushed the Vedic orthodoxy from dominance in the middle Ganges area [...]'. (Buddhism was one of these non-sacerdotal religions which was the most advanced and successful.) *Ibid.*, p. 15: 'To their [the ascetics'] minds, the sacrificing priests were crass mercenaries who collected fees and earned no merit [...]'. The most noteworthy and important of these ascetics were the Buddhist *bhikkhus* and the Jaina *yatis*.

G.C. Pande, *Studies in the Origins of Buddhism*, Delhi 1983, pp. 554-55, says: 'The Buddha's dialogues with the Brāhmanas in the Nikāyas [...] appear to represent the beginning of the protracted Buddhist-

and rituals, especially *yajñas* (Pāli *yaññas*) ⁽²⁾; only animal sacrifices *pasugbātayañña*, *pasubali*, *pasubandha* of Vedic literature were condemned. Secondly, only those who joined the order, that is, became *bhikkhus*, were enjoined to eschew *yajñas* which did not involve animal sacrifice.

In the *Kūṭadanta Sutta* of the *Dīghanikāya* V 21, the Buddha in reply to a question states that the performance of *yañña*, sacrifices with ghee, oil, butter, curd, honey, and sugar leads to the rebirth of the performer (*yajamāna*) in heaven:

*eva rūpam yaññam yajitvā vā yājetvā vā kāyassa
bbedā param maraṇā saggatim saggam lokam uppañjitā*

In the *Pēyāsi sutta* of the *Dīghanikāya* D.ii, 354 the Buddha reiterates that sacrifice (*yañña*) produces great fruit (*mabāphalo*), great profit (*mabānisamso*), great renown (*mabājutiko*) and is of widespread effect (*mabāvipabaro*) if there is no slaughter of cows, sheep, hens, pigs (*n'eva gāvo aṇḍakā kukkuṭo, sūkare haññanti*).

In the *Mahāparinibbāna sutta* of the *Dīgha*. XVI 1.5, the Buddha advises the Vajjis that, to ensure their continued prosperity and to obviate decline they should, *inter alia*, honour, esteem, revere their shrines and not let the proper offerings and rites, as formerly given and performed to fall into disuse: *Vajji cetiyāni[...] sakkaronti garumkaronti mānenti, pūjenti[...] dinnapubbam katapubbam dhammikam balim no paribāpentī*.

The *Saṃyuttanikāya* III 1.9.6 clearly condemns the performance of animal sacrifices only. It distinguishes between Vedic rituals performed with and without animal sacrifices. It declares that *assamedha* (*asvamedha*, 'horse sacrifice'), *purisamedha* (*puruṣamedha*, 'human sacrifice'), *vājaṇḍeya* (royal sacrifice involving drinking of *soma*, a kind of liquor) do not bring great fruit (*na te bonti mabāpphalā*) and that good men do not attend sacrifices where goats, sheep and cows are slaughtered (*aṇḍakā gāvo ca vividdhā yattha haññare*). The sacrifice in which animals are not slaughtered produces great fruit (*eso yañño mabāpphalo*).

The sacrificers (*yajamānas*) who perform sacrifices, which eschew animal sacrifices, are blessed (*seyyo hoti*) and not evil doers (*na pāpiyo*); nay the Buddha extols such sacrifices as great: *yañño vipulo hoti*; these please the gods (*pasidante devatā*).

The *Suttanipāṭa* 308 speaks approvingly of the *yajña* performed in accordance with religious rites (*dhammena*) and with clothes, ghee, oil, etc. The materials for sacrifice were collected by begging but there was no slaughter of cows.

Mīmāṃsaka struggle' (The Mīmāṃsakas were *Karma-kāṇḍīs* wherein the fire ritual plays the most important part). Again he observes: 'In the Nīkāyas the Buddhist opposition to caste and sacrifice has always been clear'.

According to L.P. Gomes, *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. M. Eliade, London 1989, vol. 2, pp. 351-52, 'The roots of Indian Buddhism, are to be found in the "śrāmaṇic" movement of the sixth century B.C.E. [...] The *śramaṇas* set religious goals that stood outside and in direct opposition to the religious and social order of the *brāhmaṇas* (brāhmins) [...]'. The distinguishing feature of the Vedic ritual are vegetal and animal sacrifices.

⁽²⁾ It is significant that *Milindapañha* 225 defines *brāhmaṇa* as one who, *inter alia*, follows the ancient precepts and upholds the family customs: *pubbamānusatthi paveni-vaṃsa dharāṇo*.

Again Aśoka in Rock Edict IX exhorts the people to observe ceremonial rites (*maṅgalam*) in illness, in marriages, birth of children and on commencement of journeys. Even though he states that the manifold ceremonies are petty and useless (*nirartakam*) and bear a little fruit, he emphasizes that they should nevertheless be observed (*tas kattiyaṃ caiva khalu maṅgalam*).

Again *Suttanipāṭa* 568 declares fire-worship as the best among the *yaññas* or sacrifices: *yañña aggibutta mukhā*, 'agnihotra (fire worship) is the best among the sacrifices'.

The *Jātakas* provide corroborative evidence. In the *Matakkabbatta Jātaka* (no. 18) the *bodhisattva* strongly discounts the practice of sacrificing animals in the feasts for the dead (*matakkabbattam*) for the sake of deceased kinsmen: these are commonly called the *śrāddha* rites for the manes. In *Āyācitabbatta Jātaka* (no. 19) the practice of sacrificing animals to the gods before the commencement of a journey on business and again after safe return therefrom with profit is deprecated. The tree spirit advises the itinerant trader to give up the sacrifice of animals (*pāṇātipātakamma*) as it leads to bondage.

In the *Dummedha Jātaka* (no. 50), the *bodhisattva* Prince Brahmadaṭṭha finds that the folks of Benares celebrated the festivals of gods by *balikammam* involving slaughter of sheep, goats, poultry, swine and other living creatures. He considers this as wanton destruction of life due to superstition: *devatā maṅgalikā babun pāṇavaddham karonti*. To dissuade them from performing animal sacrifices, the Prince confined himself to offering of perfumes and flowers, of sprinkling the trees with water and doing *pradakṣiṇā* (circumambulation) of the trees and eventually he succeeded in stopping the practice of animal sacrifices, which is described as *dussilakamma*, an evil act.

In the *Mahāsupina Jātaka* (no. 77), the *bodhisattva* advises the king of Benares to avoid attending the sacrifices organized by the Brāhmanas in which animals are slaughtered: *paṣugbāta yaññam nāma mā yaḍe*.

In *Lomasakassapa Jātaka* (no. 433) *paṣugbātayaññam*, sacrifice involving killing of animals, is described as futile in achieving one's objective. The *Lobakumbhi Jātaka* (no. 314) in its *nidānakathā* emphasizes the utter uselessness of *sabbacatukka yaññam*, the 'four-fold sacrifice of all creatures' — men, bulls, horses and elephants.

In short, attending sacrifices in which animals were not slaughtered was not banned.

It is only in regard to those who join the order of monks that the Buddha declares that sacrifices (which do not involve killing of animals) are of no value and should be eschewed.

In the *Vinayaṭīkā Mahāvagga* I 22.4 it is narrated that the Buddha asks Kassapa as to the reasons for abandoning fire-sacrifice (*aggibuttam* or *agni hotra*). Kassapa explains that *yañña* promotes and provides material things and sensual delights. He considered them as dross (*etam malam*). So he had no interest in sacrifice or oblation (*na yijjha na bute arañjin*).

In the *Kūṭadanta Sutta* of the *Dīghanikāya* already cited, the Buddha denounces the performance of a great sacrifice involving the slaughter of 700 each of bulls, steers, heifers, goats, rams and directs that the animals proposed to be sacrificed be set free; he commends the cultivation of *sīlas* instead. It is noteworthy that the Buddha utters no word against the sacrifices performed with the offering of ghee, curd, sugar, cereals, etc. Likewise, the Buddha denounces in the *Saṅguttanikāya* the *yaññas* (*assamedha*, *purisamedha*, *vājapeya*) involving killing of animals and human beings. He proclaims that sacrifices in which animals are not killed are rites which produce great results; they bring to the performer blessings and not curses or evil.

Only in the *Bhūridatta Jātaka* (no. 543) fire-worship as such is denounced: it is incapable of fulfilling any desire. It disdainfully points out that cooks who light fires, blacksmiths who use fire in their trade and those who burn corpses in the cremation ground do not gain any merit by their 'fire performance'. But the whole tenor of the *Jātaka* is clearly anti-Brāhmaṇa rather than anti-sacrifice. It perhaps represents a time period when there was clash between Buddhist monks and Brahmanical priests — between *bhikkhus*, renouncers and *mīmāṃsakas*,

karma-kāṇḍī householders. We cannot therefore justifiably take this *Jātaka* as evidence of denunciation of fire rituals which eschewed killing of animals.

The practice of *Anuttarayogatantra* in Tibetan Buddhism involves *inter alia*, proper recitation of *mantras* and performance of ritual fire offering to the deities.

The ritual fire offering^(?) is for the purpose of pacification of illnesses, demons, hindrance, for welfare of sentient beings, increasing the life span etc., for power and wrath. The offerings consist of sticks, clarified butter, firewood free from insects, *kuśa* grass, seeds of mustard, sesame, rice, barley, pulses, wheat and *dūrvā* grass, milk and curd.

The Newari Buddhists of Nepal also perform through a Vajracārya *boma* fire offering⁽⁴⁾, while celebrating all major rites of passage, the *samskāras*, of birth, marriage, etc. The rites involve the construction of fire pit and offerings of grain and clarified butter to the chanting of *mantras* and *dhāraṇīs*.

The purpose of the Vedic sacrifices, *boma* and the materials used in the sacrifices (and which did not involve slaughter of animals) are practically identical with those of the Buddhist ritual fire offering. It is quite reasonable to assume that the Buddhist *tāntrikas* had incorporated and adopted the practice of Vedic *yajñas* excluding those involving *paśu bali*.

It is noteworthy that it was the *Upaniṣads* which repudiated the utility of all Vedic *yajñas*, whether involving animal sacrifices or not. In this respect the *Upaniṣads* were more radical than the Buddha in repudiating Vedic sacrificial practices⁽⁵⁾.

Coomaraswamy had observed with great prescience, 'The more superficially one studies Buddhism, the more it seems to differ from the Brahmanism, in which it originated; the more profound our study, the more difficult it becomes to distinguish Buddhism from Brahmanism or to say in what respects, if any, Buddhism is really unorthodox'⁽⁶⁾.

(?) Sharpa Tulku and M. Parrot, *A Manual of Ritual Fire Offering*, Dharmasala 1987, Introduction pp. xi to xiii.

The *boma* rite described by F.D. Lessings, *Yung-Ho-Kung — An Iconography of the Lamaist Cathedral in Peking*, Stockholm 1942, vol. I, pp. 150-61 is similar. The purpose of the rite is (i) appeasing or propitiating various deities (*śāntika*), (ii) increasing prosperity (*prauṣṭika*), (iii) subduing demons (*vaśī karana*), and (iv) overpowering enemies (*abbhicāra*). The materials used in the fire rite are also the same.

(4) S.M. Greenwood, 'The Role of Priest in Nepal Society', *Himalayan Anthropology*, ed. J.F. Fisher, The Hague 1978, pp. 490, 493. See also T.T. Lewis, 'Mahāyāna Vratas in Newar Buddhism', *JLAS*, 12, 1, 1989, pp. 109-38.

(5) *Muṇḍaka* I.ii.7 declares the sacrifices as inferior *karma*. *Muṇḍaka* I.ii.8 describes those who perform sacrifices as blind led by the blind. *Muṇḍaka* I.ii.10 declares that those who consider the performance of *iṣṭāpūrta* rites as the highest are deluded fools. *Cbāndogya* V.19.24 emphasizes the importance of the sacrifice of the inner self *prāṇa-agnibotra* as against the external sacrifices. *Kaṭha* ii.22 states that self cannot be attained through much study and intellect.

(6) A.K. Coomaraswamy, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Indian Ed., New Delhi 1975, p. 45.

Inquiries into the Origin of the Buddha Image: A Review

by ROB LINROTHE

Introduction

Recently, articles by John Huntington (J. Huntington 1985) and his wife Susan (S. Huntington 1990), as well as a book by Susan Huntington with John Huntington (¹) (S. Huntington 1985) have focused attention on the absence of a Buddha figure in early Buddhist art. They have called into question the theories of aniconism which have been proposed to explain the paucity of pre-Kuṣāṇa Buddha images.

The broad claim that the Huntingtons make is that there is a strong likelihood for the Buddha image to have been made within a generation of the Buddha's decease. As a corollary, if a 'pre-iconic' phase of Buddhist art existed, 'it was extremely short, limited to specific sectarian movements, and without real relevance from either the art historical or doctrinal point of view for the majority of Buddhists' (J. Huntington 1985: 25). Susan Huntington's article of 1990 emphasizes the error of aniconism, rather than attempting to demonstrate the earliness of the Buddha image, but that is because she accepts 'the recently proven existence of Buddha images even from early periods of Indian history' (S. Huntington 1990: 407). This is, as they are aware, a radical reinterpretation of the evidence, which would overturn the theories accepted by scholars for the last century. A critical scrutiny of this new interpretation is imperative, particularly since now that it is in print, and with the authority of these two leading scholars behind it, it is already being accepted and cited in support of other theories (²).

Different orders of argument are involved in their learned discussion. 1) Scriptural references which have been used to justify aniconism in the past are reevaluated and questioned. 2) Textual passages are pointed out which refer to the existence of the Buddha image within a generation of the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*, much earlier than has hitherto been accepted (c. beginning of the Christian era). 3) The doctrinal motivation for creating an image of the Buddha is posited as merit from *Buddhadarśana*. 4) Visual evidence is offered. 5) Historical accident is held to explain the lack of unequivocal visual evidence for the earliness of the Buddha image.

(¹) Chapters Five through Eight deal with the early Buddhist art of India and frequently cite John Huntington's article.

(²) Robert L. Brown, in the context of a review of all the articles in the *Studies in Buddhist Art of South Asia*, including John Huntington's, concludes that 'While one may question certain of Huntington's propositions in this long essay, the cumulative evidence he presents does strongly argue for the existence of Buddha images long before their extant examples (in stone) in the c. C.E.' (Brown 1988). John Huntington's article and the evidence he presents is accepted uncritically in Y. Krishan 1988-89.

6) The extant pictorial evidence (at sites like Sāñcī and Bhārhut) are reinterpreted to negate aniconism as a theory.

Specific aspects of their interlocking and thought-provoking arguments, particularly the first and last of the six I have isolated, are perceptive and have considerable validity and utility. Unfortunately, the validity may be more restricted in scope than their claim. Overall, the questions still seems to be open. One of the key pieces of material evidence on which they base their arguments — a putative 1st century B.C.E. Chinese pot — is now known to be a forgery (*infra*). Much of the supporting evidence and argumentation is weakened by internal contradictions or ambiguity. In what follows I will examine one by one the various layers of argument proposed by John and Susan Huntington. I will attempt to present evidence which calls into question their broad claim, while salvaging the insightful aspects of their theory, and conclude by suggesting that aniconism had an artistic rather than doctrinal function.

1. Textual Justifications for a Theory of Aniconism

John Huntington first examines several of the Buddhist canonical passages which other scholars have used to justify aniconism. He shows that most of these passages do not stand up to scrutiny, for they have been taken out of context, were mis-translated, or are so general as to be equally open to other interpretations. This, the first layer of argument found in John Huntington's article, is a positive contribution ^(?).

Huntington implies that the art historical community has been too credulous in accepting the arguments for an 'aniconic period' by Foucher, Coomaraswamy and others. By contrast, he suggests that 'the Buddhological community has not been so easily convinced' (J. Huntington 1985: 23). Yet no less a rigorous Buddhologist than Alex Wayman, as recently as 1978 published an article which included a substantial section entitled 'The Aniconic Period' in which there is no hint of a problem with this issue as traditionally interpreted (Wayman 1984).

Aside from this caveat, however, John Huntington is convincing that, in general, most Buddhist texts are silent on the issue of permitting or prohibiting image-making. Only one explicit reference to a specific prohibition against making images of the Buddha stands up to his scrutiny. Arthur Waley, following a Japanese scholar, had pointed out that this occurs in the *vinaya* of the Sarvāstivādins, translated into Chinese in 404 C.E. (Waley 1931-32: 352). In it, Anāthapindika is given permission to make images of bodhisattvas, but not of the Buddha.

This statement provides textual corroboration of what we find in practice: at Sāñcī and Bhārhut, two of the most abundant sources of early Buddhist art, there are no images of the Buddha. Moreover, the statement in the *vinaya* that bodhisattva images are allowed, but not Buddha images, damages the Huntingtons' position. To maintain his hypothesis, Huntington discounts the *vinaya* passage. Thus, 'It is my opinion that the Sarvāstivādin prohibition must be seen as an aside from the main stream of Buddhist concern about images of the Buddha' (J. Huntington 1985: 29).

^(?) It is unfortunate however, that Huntington is so uncharitable regarding the distortions he discovers in the work of previous scholars. He goes as far as impugning O.C. Gangoly's 'fraudulent method'.

Huntington has rightly called attention to the relative dearth of descriptions, explanations or justifications in Buddhist texts for the phenomenon of aniconism in early Buddhist art ⁽⁴⁾. Aniconism does not seem to have been an issue worthy of comment in most texts. This in itself suggests that the issue was not so much a theological problem but an artistic one, an argument which will be developed below. At any rate, Huntington's work will have re-sensitized the scholarly community to the issue. More cautious and precise formulations must be made: Instead of generalizing, 'Before c. 1st century C.E. there were no depictions of the Buddha due to a scriptural proscription', it would be more accurate to specify, 'At this site, at that time, there was apparently the disinclination to depict the Buddha in human form'.

Yet one must distinguish between disproving theories which *explain* the phenomenon of no early Buddha images, as Huntington has done, and disproving that the phenomenon *exists*, which he has not yet accomplished. Disproving the theory that the earth is fixed and the heavens are twirling does not disprove the fact that the sun rises in the east and sets in the west. What is needed is to formulate a better theory which accounts for all the facts.

2. Textual Justifications for Early Images of the Buddha

If John Huntington is successful in casting doubt on the textual support for aniconism, he is less convincing to this reader in finding evidence for his alternative theory. The claim is ambitious: that Buddha images may very well have been made all along, beginning at the latest within a generation of the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*. The biggest problem however, is that *all* of the textual evidence gathered in support is unquestionably posterior to the material evidence for the creation of the Buddha image ⁽⁵⁾. In other words, they were all written after the aniconic phase was over. Thus they cannot provide primary evidence of much earlier periods. Further, since the passages he brings up contradict the overwhelming primary material evidence of the avoidance of Buddha images, they are insufficient proof.

Some of the texts he brings up are only a century or two later than extant Buddha images. The Lotus Sutra (*Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*), for instance, which encourages the making of images of the *stūpa* and of the Buddha, was translated into Chinese in the late 3rd century, and its

⁽⁴⁾ There may be a few more references to a prohibition on image-making in Buddhist texts, other than those with which Huntington deals. Joryu Chiba, for instance, cites the following from the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*: 'The body of Tathāgata is miraculous. The body of Tathāgata cannot be created, nor can it be said whether it is tall or short in its reproduction'; and, 'The Tathāgata is the most honorable in this world and there is none comparable to him even among the devas. He cannot be engraved in any form' (Chiba 1991: 90).

⁽⁵⁾ Among the earliest references is a text (*Taishō* 16.692) which is traditionally recorded as having been translated into Chinese in the Later Han period (C.E. 25-220). The translator is unknown. Taking the attribution at its face value, it should be noted that no Buddha images have been claimed for China before the 2nd century, and even then they are 'Buddha-like' and brought into a localized Chinese funerary context. Not until the 3rd century do there seem to be Buddha images *per se* (see Wu 1986). Even if we allow the dubious proposition that the text was translated in the 2nd century (the first seems out of the question, though Huntington insists it be considered, [J. Huntington 1985: 29]), this is still after the Buddha image is demonstrably widespread throughout the Kuṣāṇa empire.

earliest layers would appear to date from the 1st century C.E. An article by Lewis Lancaster, cited extensively by Huntington, also documents an early recension of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā-sūtra* translated into Chinese in 179 C.E. which discussed images of the Buddha ⁽⁶⁾ (Lancaster 1974). As Huntington points out, such texts may reflect earlier traditions.

However, a great deal of the evidence to which Huntington appeals is found only in quite late sources. The early 17th century work of the Tibetan historian Tāranātha figures prominently in this layer of argument, and it is difficult to accept that what Tāranātha transmits is pertinent to events occurring 2,000 years earlier.

Specifically, John Huntington dwells on different versions of a story found in Tāranātha's works and in the biography of the 13th century Tibetan pilgrim to India, Dharmasvāmin. According to these traditions, in which Huntington hears 'a ring of validity', a mother of three sons knew the Buddha. When one of her sons is the agent for a miraculously produced image of the Buddha, the mother pronounces favorably on its accuracy as a likeness. Huntington links this tale, venerable no doubt, first to the evident 'familiarity' and the 'casualness' with which the Lotus Sutra treats Buddha images, and then to an account which survives in the Chinese version of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *vinaya* translated no earlier than 710 C.E. Added together, these three allow him to conclude that 'one would have to state that there is a very strong tradition pointing to the making and use of images in the period immediately following the death of the Buddha' (J. Huntington 1985: 43).

We need to be reminded that all of the factors in this equation were written down considerably later than the earliest surviving Buddha image. Also, each is subject to alternative explanations. Rather than eyewitness accounts of the 'original' creation of the Buddha image, stories such as the mother who knew the Buddha are much more likely to be pious reactions to Buddha images. They may have stemmed from after-the-fact attempts to attribute an early origin to the Buddha image. The Lotus Sutra places emphasis on the merit of making images, but its 'familiarity' may be due to the fact that very early traditions stress the merit of making stupas and making images. Making *images* was not new. The innovation was making *images of the Buddha*. At any rate, the sources Huntington discusses all postdate the earliest images we have by at least one to two hundred years, and as much as sixteen hundred years. It is hard to accept the notion that they document images created at the time of the Buddha.

3. Buddhadarśana

A corollary to John Huntington's textual studies is to highlight the religious motivations for creating Buddha images. The Buddha's presence, or *darśan*, was conducive to enlightenment, and to reverence for the perfection of the Buddha's wisdom. The merit (*puṇyā*) of *Buddha-darśana* could also be derived from seeing an image of the Buddha which reproduced all the auspicious marks of the Buddha. Huntington avers that the early monks did not use or make

⁽⁶⁾ Lancaster, at any rate, never suggests that there was no period of aniconism, only that 1) it is inappropriate to attribute aniconism to 'Hīnayāna' and images to Mahāyāna, and 2) it is anachronistic to attribute the development of the Buddha image to the *trikāya* doctrine, which is considerably later, i.e. 5th century.

Buddha images. Instead, the earliest images 'could *only* have been made or commissioned by members of the lay community to be housed in shrines that were to be maintained by or for the laity' (J. Huntington 1985: 48. Emphasis in original). On the contrary, Gregory Schopen has conclusively demonstrated on the basis of inscriptional evidence that the majority of the earliest images from several major Buddhist centers were set up by monks and nuns (Schopen 1988-89).

Buddhadarsana and the desire for *punyā* may very well have been a motivation for making Buddha images, for clerical and lay Buddhists alike. But clearly, Buddhist merit could be derived without resorting to the image of the Buddha's person. Donative inscriptions are found on gateways, railings, slabs, *vibhāra* and the like. At the Great Stūpa at Sāñchī, for instance, there are no Buddha images. Yet as Vidya Dehejia has recently pointed out, the 631 donative inscriptions at Sāñchī, 'speak of donations from monks and nuns, lay worshipers, householders and housewives, and from members of a variety of professions including merchants, bankers, surveyors, and masons' (Dehejia 1988: 5). Almost half the inscriptions at Sāñchī record the patronage of lay Buddhists. They surely felt that the merit which would accrue to them as donors of Buddhist images was not affected by the fact that no images of the Buddha were made.

4. Visual Evidence of Early Buddha Images

John Huntington brings into the discussion three objects as evidence of early Buddha images. The first, the putative Han Dynasty Chinese pot which was first published as dating to 36 B.C.E., is also cited by Susan Huntington (J. Huntington 1985: 24, figs. 1-2; S. Huntington 1985: 113). It belongs to the National Museum of History, Taipei, Taiwan. After its initial publication by the Museum, a team of experts in Chinese material culture, ceramics, and epigraphy was assembled to evaluate it. They concluded without doubt that the object is a fake, and have withdrawn it from display (⁷).

The second object John Huntington discusses is an engaged column at Kanherī with a Buddha and two bodhisattvas in high relief against the flat shaft, with a date of c. 3rd century C.E. (J. Huntington 1985: figs. 5-7). John Huntington suggests that this is a copy of a lost Aśokan prototype, for whose projected existence evidence is to be found in the account of the Chinese pilgrim Faxian who visited India in the early 5th century. Faxian explains that the pillar he saw was built by Aśoka.

(⁷) This was acknowledged to me by staff members of the National Museum of History, Taipei, in a conversation at the Museum in October 1987. It was confirmed in writing, in personal correspondence. One of the team of ceramic experts who concluded that it was not genuine, Ms Tsai Ho-pi in the Antiquities Department of the National Palace Museum, Taipei, also verified that it was a much later fake. John Huntington published the pot as genuine in a Note in *Lalit Kalā* (J. Huntington 1985a). He later retracted it in a 'Letter to Editor' in the same journal (J. Huntington 1988). While acknowledging that the pot is a fake, Huntington asserts that this 'neither affects the arguments regarding the earliness of the extant images in the Indic sub-continent nor does it affect the question of truly early images of the Buddha in India'. The pot, its history of publication and its spurious nature are detailed in Pal 1989.

The first difficulty is that evidence in these pious accounts was not meant to be art historical. Invaluable as Faxian's text is, we should not demand too much of it. As Tucci notes about a similar text, 'We cannot say that his information is always exact; in this kind of writings we cannot expect to find everywhere that historical preciseness of details which we demand from modern authors' (Tucci 1971: 306). More recently, Mary L. Stewart has shown how reliance on the accounts of Chinese pilgrims has continued to mislead archaeologists and historians at Nālandā (Stewart 1989).

Second, Faxian's reliability is called into question by the fact that Cunningham found a pillar at Sāṅkāśya with an elephant at the top, not a lion as Faxian claimed he saw there. Similarly, Faxian confused a pillar at Śrāvastī, calling it an ox while Xuanzang (a generally more reliable and meticulous witness) calls it an elephant (Legge 1965: 50, fn. 5).

Setting all this aside, we are still back to the methodological problem that 5th century texts are used as testimony for Aśokan (i.e. 3rd century B.C.E.) images of the Buddha. They do not constitute reasonable proof that the 3rd century C.E. column at Kanherī with Buddha images is the original or an exact copy of a 3rd century B.C.E. Aśokan column. Yet John Huntington appeals to it as 'evidence from the Aśokan period [which] would seem to point to a simple continuation of the image tradition' (J. Huntington 1985: 45), a continuation, that is, from the time of the Buddha. While inference is a critical tool for the historian, the effort required to massage the evidence into so complex a form, works to weaken the hypothesis it is meant to warrant.

The third example, for John Huntington probably 'the earliest representation of the Buddha known', is a fragment of a tiny steatite (soapstone) plaque found by Cunningham at Sāṅkāśya (J. Huntington 1985: figs. 3-4). It may represent the triple stairs at Sāṅkāśya, it seems to depict a human figure, and it may date to the Maurya period. Huntington accepts a 'very early date' for the piece, and identifies it as a Buddha figure (J. Huntington 1985: 34). Unfortunately, it was not scientifically excavated so as to provide stratigraphic evidence. Nor is its present whereabouts known. All that remains is a curious (rubbing-enhanced?) drawing. Due to its fragmentary condition, the critical elements for an identification of the figure as Buddha — *uṣṇīṣa*, for one — are missing: it lacks upper chest, shoulders and head. Too many questions surround this unavailable mysterious object for it to be used as the pivotal piece of evidence in the solution of this problem.

5. *The Appeal to Historical Accident for the Lack of Extant Early Buddha Images*

In John Huntington's article and in Susan Huntington's book, the suggestion is made that the reason there are, at present, no pre-1st century C.E. Buddha images, is because the earliest surviving images are made of stone, a material which appeared relatively late on the scene. John Huntington asks 'What, if anything, came before?' (J. Huntington 1985: 23). The implication is that images were produced earlier but they don't survive, because they were made of terracotta, wood, and other perishable materials. Susan Huntington (1985: 627, fn. 13) is explicit:

The paucity [of early Buddha images] has usually been interpreted to mean that none were created. However, it is possible that what has generally been interpreted as the initiation of a Buddha-image-making tradition during the Kuṣāṇa period is only a reflection of a beginning

to the widespread practice of using stone for such works, which have, therefore, survived in great quantities. Earlier images, perhaps made of easily perishable materials, such as wood or ivory, or precious materials such as gold or other metals that could be melted down, may have been created but are now lost.

The answer to this argument, which appeals to accidents of the historical record and the archaeologist's spade, is found in Susan Huntington's book. In discussing Sāñcī Stūpa 2, she writes that the stone *vedikā* 'appears to be a direct imitation in stone of a wooden prototype, and it is probable that its forms and decorations had a long tradition in woodcarving prior to their translation into stone' (S. Huntington 1985: 63). The same is held for the *toraṇa* of Bhārhut which 'is a copy in stone of a wooden architectural form, even to the methods of joinery used' (S. Huntington 1985: 65), and for the Great Stūpa at Sāñcī, where 'the four *torāṇas* suggest the work of carpenters rather than stone masons' (S. Huntington 1985: 629, fn. 4). Since she notes of the Great Stūpa at Sāñcī that, 'The *torāṇas* are the primary vehicle for the depiction of religious subjects', no missing *stūpa* slabs or sculptures have been posited.

There are no Buddha figures appearing on the *vedikās* or *torāṇas* at Sāñcī 1, 2 and 3, nor at Bhārhut. Since these, as she suggests, faithfully reflect earlier wooden prototypes, if the wooden prototypes included Buddha images, the stone epigones would have them also. At Bhārhut and Sāñcī the stone *vedikā* and *torāṇa* do not have Buddha images; ergo, the earlier wooden structures lacked them as well. The argument that only in stone sculptures did Buddha figures not exist is put into doubt.

Moreover the suggestion that artists who were accustomed to making Buddha images in other media would balk at doing so in stone, is contrary to actual practice. Artists and craftsmen beginning to work in a new medium do not normally discard the old formal or decorative vocabulary and create a new one along with a new iconographic convention. Generally artists adapt the pre-existing style to the new materials.

At Sāñcī itself, a well-known inscription on the west pillar of the South Gateway of the Great Stūpa documents its production by ivory workers of nearby Vidiśā. Striking continuities can be seen between the stone gateways at Sāñcī and early ivories, such as the Begram finds and the figure in the National Museum at Naples found at Pompeii. The ivory carvers used similar conventions in stone, on a larger scale and with a different level of carving difficulty. In a comparable manner, woodcarvers also adapted to stone. However unfamiliar stone may have been, at Bhārhut or Sāñcī, there was no technical constraint on depicting the Buddha figure. The artists were capable of making one. They chose not to.

Along the same lines, Gregory Schopen insightfully points out that several among the earliest surviving images of Śākyamuni, like the Bhikṣu Bala image at Sārnāth, are related to earlier *yakṣa* and royal imagery. Susan Huntington also notes that the Sārnāth image 'resembles the *yakṣa* figures and *caurī* bearers of Maurya- and Śuṅga-period art' (S. Huntington 1985: 151). Cribb, following Coomaraswamy and van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, mentions Jain images as an additional source (Cribb 1984: 237). 'Surely', Schopen (1988-89: 166) argues,

if there had been a prior tradition of any standing of Buddhist cult images in wood or clay, the stone images that we have would not still be borrowing so heavily from non-Buddhist models. The fact that our earliest extant monumental cult images in stone represent a tradition still groping for its own types and iconography, still working with non-Buddhist models, virtually precludes any long standing development of Buddhist cult images in clay or wood.

6. *Displacing Aniconism with Scenes of Contemporary Devotions*

The last order of argument proposed by John and Susan Huntington is to reinterpret the evidence at Sāñcī and Bhārhut so as to minimize the aniconism. Suggestions are tendered which aim to render aniconism superfluous. Susan Huntington (1985: 70) suggests, for instance, that,

it may have been unnecessary to use Buddha images [on the *stūpa*] because of the emphasis on the relic [...]. Or, if Buddha images were deemed desirable, their use may have been reserved for certain portions of the monument, perhaps not the railing or gateways, which are generally what remain.

Another suggestion which would make aniconic proscription unnecessary to explain the dearth of Buddha images is that, 'Many schools of Buddhism barely take note of his [the Buddha's] existence; indeed, it would be possible to practice some forms of Buddhism without even a significant awareness of him and his life cycle' (S. Huntington 1985: 114). No specific sect is mentioned in this regard, but I cannot imagine a school of Buddhism unaware of the Buddha. Regardless, we still have to account for the lack of the Buddha image at Buddhist sites such as Sāñcī and Bhārhut where the Buddha's last life, and those prior to it, were of pre-eminent interest. At those sites it cannot be doubted that Buddhists were fully aware of the Buddha. Yet no Buddha images were made.

Susan Huntington's most effective strategy involves reading narrative panels as devotional processions, re-enactments, and 'portraits' of the famous sites of Buddhism, rather than as the original events. Instead of straightforward depictions of episodes in the Buddha's life, she interprets the sculptures as representing events contemporary to the sculptor. These then are secondary celebrations or re-presentations of the primary events of the Buddha's life. This interpretation has its attractive aspects, and should certainly be taken into account in some instances where worship of the *stūpa*, or of the Bodhi tree or other *vedikā*-enclosed sites is taking place ⁽⁶⁾. Perhaps some textual references to Buddhist devotion in the form of pageants may be marshalled, though from a comparative point of view, aniconic re-enactments are not unprecedented ⁽⁷⁾.

Fruitful as this aspect of the Huntingtons' hypothesis is, interpreting every scene as contemporary devotion fails to account for a number of narratives which are unlikely to be

⁽⁶⁾ Of course, there is nothing new in this theory. B. Barua wrote in 1934 of a scene at Bhārhut 'None need be surprised if the motif is meant to represent really a group of five or six worshippers performing an act of circumambulation, making offerings and bowing down, by turns, one after another, the offering consisting of garlands and bunches of flowers' (Barua 1934: 1-2).

⁽⁷⁾ From a comparative point of view, ritual drama and re-enactments are attested in other religions, notably ancient Egypt, Christianity, and to the extent that ritual dance is re-enactment, Hinduism (Brandon 1975: 76-88). Christianity provides us with an example of 'aniconic re-enactment', for its central rite was a 'liturgical drama, of great emotive power [but] the faithful did not see Christ realistically represented therein [...]. The conception which they had of Christ [...] in the Mass was formed by iconography — in particular, by the crucifix on reredos and rood screens, and the illustrations contained in missals and books of devotion' (Brandon 1975: 84).

re-enactments (*infra*). But their argument is weakened even more by its inner contradictions. Accept for a moment that the worship of the Bodhi tree, or a *stūpa*, (for example, S. Huntington 1985: fig. 6.11) at Bhārhut or Sāñcī, is a contemporary enactment or depiction of the shrine built at the site, not the moment of the Buddha's enlightenment. The *stūpa* or shrine thus being worshipped *still* does not have a Buddha image on it. Later *stūpas* and shrines all include images of the Buddha. One has only to recall Amarāvati, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Jauliān, Ajañtā, etc. But at Bhārhut and Sāñcī, the contemporary devotions are being offered to a shrine or *stūpa* which never includes a Buddha image. One can only conclude that in a depiction of the primary event itself, or in a depiction of a secondary representation/re-enactment of the event, the Buddha image was excluded, for unknown reasons. This remains aniconism.

Susan Huntington identifies the Great Departure on the middle architrave of the East Gateway at the Great Stūpa of Sāñcī, as a re-enactment (S. Huntington 1985: fig. 6.10). She has the townspeople re-enacting the roles of all the participants in the story: the gods, the horse, the hoof-carriers who drop the horse once the Prince has dismounted, the groom, the one who holds the umbrella over the rider-less horse. Why is it, if there was no disinclination to represent the Buddha, that no one plays the part of the Buddha himself?

If the interpretation is taken to its logical, if absurd, extreme, one can pose other questions. Are the images of *jātaka* tales also to be taken as re-enactments? If not, why not? If the *jātaka* are also enactments, we may assume that, for instance, in the Vidhurapandita *jātaka* at Bhārhut (Barua 1934: pl. xviii, scene 136), this is a re-enactment at Indraprastha, Vidhura's home. Vidhura's part (the Buddha in a previous life) was played by someone in the re-enactment, for he is depicted in the relief. Yet in the Great Departure, the horse is rider-less. If, in all the 're-enactments' only the part of the Buddha in his last life is never played, we are still left with aniconism. Yet within a short time the Buddha would be depicted coming out of Queen Māyā's side, riding the horse out of the city, calling the earth to witness, descending the stairs at Sāñkāsya, and so on. Are the depictions which include the Buddha figure no longer re-enactments? If they are only re-enactments when the Buddha is not portrayed, this is still aniconism.

Aside from these inner contradictions, perhaps the most convincing evidence against the Huntingtons' proposal is quantitative. Out of the hundreds of sculptural figures that survive from Bhārhut and Sāñcī, not a single one depicts Śākyamuni Buddha in the form which he was soon to take. Admittedly, it is 'negative' evidence. While it is negative evidence, at least it is quantitatively overwhelming. But the evidence which is marshalled to the Huntingtons' 'no-aniconic' interpretation is not any less negative. Adherents to the 'no-aniconic' theory cannot point to any unequivocal depiction of the Buddha in the midst of so much early Buddhist art. Nor does the theory adequately account for the lack of the Buddha image within so much early Buddhist art.

If sites dedicated to Buddhism, covered with narrative and iconic art, fail to depict the Buddha, how can we escape the conclusion that for one reason or another, early Buddhists, at least all those known to produce art before about the beginning of the common era, preferred not to depict him in human form? They symbolized his presence, using the familiar emblems of footprints, wheel, umbrella, and the like. Still, all the many scenes which show events from his life exclude him. As for the idea that there was an earlier tradition of making the Buddha image, if such a phase of Buddhist art existed, to paraphrase John Huntington, it was probably short, limited to specific sectarian movements, and without real relevance from either the art historical or doctrinal point of view for the majority of Buddhists.

The Limited Validity of the Contemporary Devotion Interpretation

Two things are left to do. The first is to put forth examples where the re-enactment/devotion argument is inappropriate. The second is to suggest why a convention not to depict the Buddha should have been operative at the early sites. The first is not difficult. In general, depictions of the enlightenment with Māra's demons (Marshall 1940: pl. 29) or miracle scenes which use a rectangular slab as the *caṅkrama* (walking path) to indicate the Buddha's presence (Marshall 1940: pls. 36c, 50), are difficult to account for without recourse to an aniconic interpretation⁽¹⁰⁾.

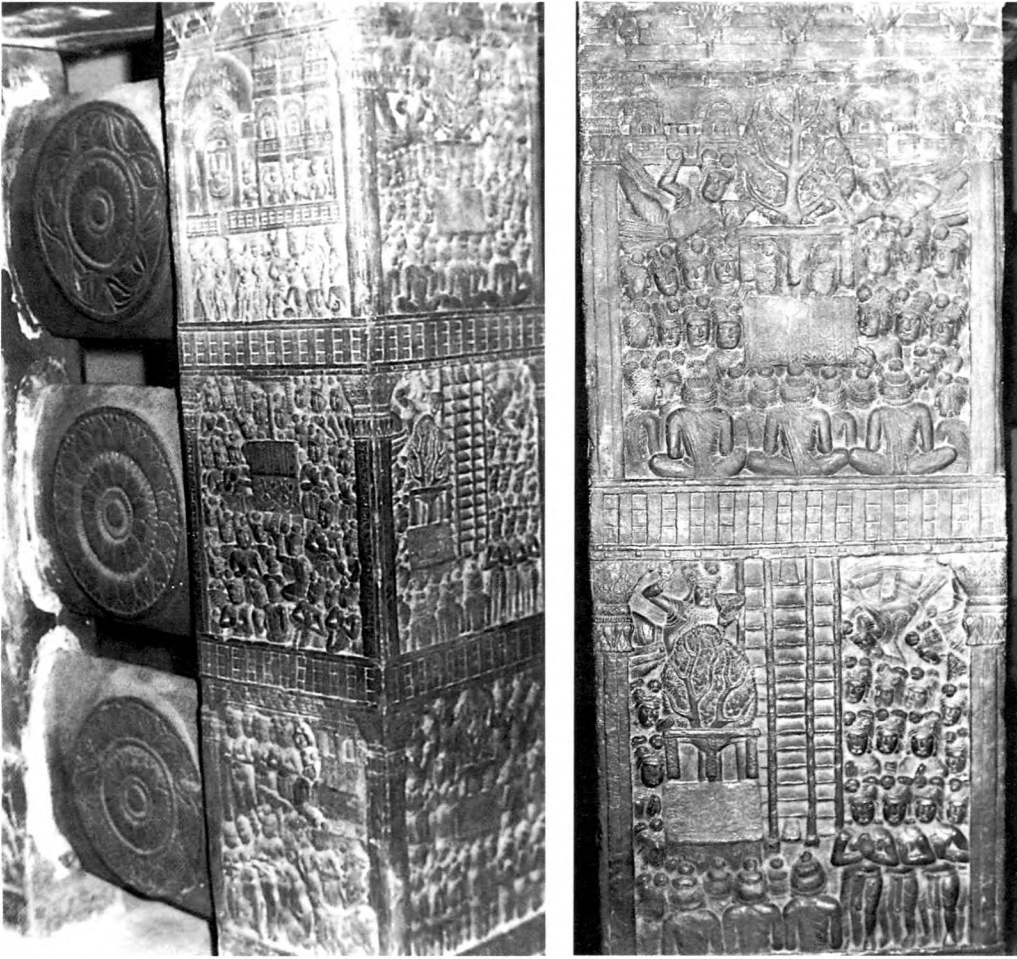
Another miracle, the Buddha's ascent to Trayastriṃśa heaven to preach to his mother and his subsequent return to Sāṅkāśya on the stairs to preach to those gathered below, is also beyond the scope of a no-aniconism explanation. At Sāñcī, the miracle of Sāṅkāśya is depicted on the Great Stūpa, North Gateway, west pillar, front side (Mitra 1971: pl. 16). At the top and bottom of the stairway, there are two trees and thrones. The two thrones are there to indicate that the Buddha preached in heaven, at the top of the stairway, and then preached once again when he returned to Sāṅkāśya, on earth. No Buddha is to be seen, only the path he travelled.

Why can this *not* be devotions at the site? Because unlike other such scenes, this one clearly differentiates humans from devas, by hierarchic scale. The humans who surround the tree at the bottom, in similar attitudes, are less than half the size of the gods. The gods in heaven, and the gods in the sky lining the staircase, are saluting and praising the Buddha who is, invisibly, descending. Why else would the gods be there? It is unlikely they are there to praise humans offering worship at the site. Also, there is no *vedikā*, which would certainly be indicated if this was the contemporary 'site' of Sāṅkāśya with its shrine, rather than the original incident and time. So while it is still possible to postulate that this is a re-enactment of the original events, including the roles of the gods, the fact remains that the role of the Buddha, the central figure, was not re-enacted.

The same theme is depicted on the right side of the Ajātaśatru pillar at Bhārhut (Fig. 1). Susan Huntington captions this scene, 'worship at Sāṅkāśya' in her book (S. Huntington 1985: caption for fig. 5.17). She returns to it in her article, where she labels it 'Devotion at Sāṅkāśya' (S. Huntington 1990: 404, caption for fig. 6). Unfortunately, she does not illustrate the entire side of the pillar, which includes two more related panels, above and below the descent (Dehejia 1990: fig. 5). At the bottom of the pillar is the miracle of Śrāvastī, which took place just before the ascent to preach to the Buddha's mother. The upper two registers are certainly a pair, connected by the ladder (Fig. 2). The top panel represents the preaching of the Buddha in heaven, while the middle register depicts the ladder of his descent and his preaching on earth after his return. In effect, the Bhārhut sculptor divided the scene into two panels, while the later Sāñcī sculptor unified the composition (*supra*).

Seen in context, the two upper registers fit together very well — two preaching scenes connected by the ladder. Seen out of context, it is possible to interpret the middle register

⁽¹⁰⁾ For instance, at the Great Stūpa of Sāñcī, the return of the Buddha to Kapilavastu, where the king worships the throne, above which hovers a rectangular slab, representing the miracle of the Buddha rising into the air, to obviate the necessity of his father prostrating himself before his son.



Figs. 1-2 - Ajātaśatru pillar and detail. Bhārhut, Madhya Pradesh; c. 100-80 B.C.; sandstone. *Indian Museum, Calcutta*. (Photo by author).

as devotions at a contemporary shrine. This is how Susan Huntington presents it ⁽¹¹⁾. However no such interpretation can be applied to the upper register, for worship at the shrine of Trayastriṃśa heaven, can only take place in heaven, and re-enactment could only be performed by the gods themselves. If it is argued that this is a re-enactment at Sāṅkāśya of what took place in heaven, we are still left with the fact that there is no Buddha image at either site.

⁽¹¹⁾ 'Similarly, there is no reason to assume [that the descent from Trāyastriṃśa heaven relief] would bear a representation of him, for the subject is more likely a depiction of the site where the event occurred and devotions that later took place there rather than a narration of the event itself' (S. Huntington 1985:

Thirty-odd *devas* are gathered together in heaven. They do not appear in the act of worshipping the shrine (only one has joined hands) so much as *listening* to the preaching of the non-depicted Buddha. They are not offering garlands or bowing, but are seated listening. Neither upper nor lower shrine/throne is marked off with a *vedikā*. Only the umbrellas with garlands are added, as signs of respect. The Buddha image does not appear, either in the depiction of the re-enactment of the event, nor, what is more likely to be the case here, in the depiction of the event itself.

Pratapaditya Pal, in the context of a general review of Susan Huntington's book (Pal 1987), mentions in passing the inscriptions at Bhārhut associated with sculptures there. Following this up, one finds that there are several inscriptions identifying worship of the Buddha associated with sculptures in which the Buddha's empty throne is depicted. For instance, the inscriptions which specifically mention the worship offered to 'the Holy One' [*bhagavate*] by the Nāga King Erapati and Ajātasatru are attached to clearly aniconic sculptures (Lüders 1963: 110, inscr. no. B37, pl. XXXIX; 118, inscr. B40, pl. XXXIX). The famous roundel of Anāthapiṇḍika having workmen pave the park with gold and then pouring out water to seal the gift of the Jetavana Garden to the Buddha (S. Huntington 1985: fig. 5.16) is accompanied by an inscription translated as follows: 'Anādhapeḍika (*Anāthapiṇḍika*) presents the Jetavana, having bought it for a layer of crores' (Lüders 1963: 105, B32, pl. XXXVIII). To whom is he presenting it, but to the Buddha, represented only aniconically?

One final example of an inscription which mentions the Buddha in a sculpture which does not depict him. This is the representation of the announcement in heaven of the future-Buddha's impending birth. *Devas* reverently surround an empty throne and one touches the footprints of the unseen Buddha. The inscription reads as follows: 'Descended from (the hall of) the Great Assembly the angel Arahaguta (*Arhadgupta*) apprises the Holy One of (his future) reincarnation' (Lüders 1963: 87, B18, pl. XXXIV). If these scenes were re-enactments, it seems questionable whether it would have been appropriate to inscribe them in so explicit a way. The inscriptions appear to confirm beyond reasonable doubt that the Buddha figure, although unseen, was considered present.

Conclusion

Several of the suggestions of John and Susan Huntington are of considerable interest and utility. John Huntington has shown that it is necessary to reconsider the theory that a codified religious interdiction explains the absence of Buddha images. They have also pointed out that in some contexts, Buddha images might not have been called for. Susan Huntington has shown

72). Later she suggests that 'The figures appear to move as if in a clockwise procession around the ladders in the nearly ubiquitous circumambulation ritual used in Buddhism [...]. Therefore, instead of representing the Buddha life event itself, with the main actors missing, the Bhārhut carving seems to show a later worship scene at the holy site of Sankasya, where the descent took place' (S. Huntington 1990: 404). Michael Rabe recently pointed out that the pair of footprints on the Bhārhut ladder are split between the top and bottom rungs, which makes it even more difficult to interpret the scene as contemporary devotions (Rabe 1992: 125).

that the contemporary devotion/re-enactment interpretation is plausible in some cases. In fact the new and the traditional interpretations need not always be mutually exclusive: some images might have been *both* depictions of events in the Buddha's life *and* devotions occurring at the site or re-enactments of it ⁽¹²⁾.

It is also possible that in the future, Buddha images earlier than any identified to date will be discovered. It is possible, perhaps even probable, that the Buddha image was made somewhat earlier than the ones now extant. Possible, probable, but it seems to me not necessarily so. The mass of evidence which Bhārhut, Sāñcī, Amarāvati, Sārnāth, Bodh Gayā, Bhājā, Pitalkhorā and other early Buddhist sites present is too widespread geographically, and in too great a quantity, to dismiss as a statistically negligible sample. To a piece, they are unanimous: no Buddha images seem to occur in any of the pre-common era sites now known.

The question remains, *why not depict the Buddha?* One answer might lie in the fundamental aim of all religious art: 'to render the ineffable in time and space'. Given the material constraints, this is a paradoxical charge: to delineate the infinite, to draw the boundary around the limitless, the transcendent. Later Indian art did it with such conventions as the *lakṣaṇas*, imaginative combinations of animal heads with human bodies or *vice versa*, and multiple arms and heads. Other widespread conventions of religious art, by no means confined to India or Buddhism, are haloes, hierarchical scale, and 'disguised symbolism'. Aniconism seems to be another convention, shared in certain periods by Christian and Islamic art. Moreover, all conventions have a limited life-span, and depend on a host of social factors. After a time, this one fell away, to the best of our knowledge around the start of the common era. Subsequently, it was used only infrequently.

While it was still in use in early Buddhist art, aniconism served primarily to visually differentiate the Buddha from all other sentient beings. Other transcendents apparently did have a pre-Buddhist or at least pre-Christian-era tradition of depiction: the Yakṣas, Yakṣīs, Nāgas, Garuḍas and Devas of popular traditions and of the emergent Brahmanical pantheon. But Buddhists insisted that the Buddha's *nirvāṇa* was beyond even the 'relative' immortality of the highest gods. Even the gods were subject to the cycles of (apparent) life and death and the action of the *dharmas*. Only the Buddha put an end to the karmic effects of attributing reality to temporarily conjoined, conditioned existence: *pratītya samutpāda*. In this light, aniconism is a perfectly reasonable, effective way of visually saying: this is beyond words. It coincides optically with the notion of the Buddha's enlightenment itself, but it is essentially the solution to an artistic problem, and not a theological one ⁽¹³⁾. This may explain the dearth of references to it in the texts.

⁽¹²⁾ For instance, at the Great Stūpa at Sāñcī, the lower lintel in the middle section of the architrave of the western gateway, back side, we find 'The Great Miracle of Saṃbodhi' (Marshall 1940: pl. LXI). To the (viewer's) left of the center, Māra's marvelously ugly and deformed hosts retreat, while to the right, gods (or devotees?) come to applaud the Buddha's victory. The Buddha of course is not depicted in person, but is represented by the Bodhi tree in the middle. This has an elaborate shrine built around it. The throne is visible below, and the tree emerges above the shrine, surrounded by a *vedikā*, and topped by a garlanded umbrella. It seems to be both the original event and the shrine commemorating it.

⁽¹³⁾ In a posthumously published English translation of a text in preparation at the time of his death in 1969, Paul Mus produced a densely atmospheric evocation of the religious meaning in early Buddhism's 'incomplete Image'. Though seen from the perspective of the pilgrim rather than the sculptor, his views are not incompatible with the one I am suggesting. Cf. Mus 1987.

Like most conventions, the origins of aniconic practice are lost. Head-hunting for its 'first occurrence' is folly. 'Its origins are obscure, and, like roots, proceed from different levels and contradictory directions' (Read 1953: 17). Yet the *meaning* of the convention is possible to recover. David Snellgrove (1978: 23) has pointed to a passage in the *Suttanipata* which, while clearly no interdiction, is nevertheless suggestive:

For him who gains the goal there is no measurement
By means of which one tells of him; for him
this just is not.
When all the elements are removed, all terms
of reference are like-wise non-existent.

Aniconism then, as an artistic, rather than theological convention, was a valid visual metaphor for the transcendence of the Buddha's enlightenment. Its acceptance in the discipline of art history remains equally valid.

ADDENDUM

Since this article was written and submitted for publication, the no-aniconism argument has continued to be debated. In particular, Dr Vidya Dehejia published 'Aniconism and the Multivalence of Emblems', *Ars Orientalis*, 21, 1991, pp. 45-66, and Dr Susan Huntington accepted an invitation to respond, with 'Aniconism and the Multivalence of Emblems: Another Look', *Ars Orientalis*, 22, 1992, pp. 111-56, where she repeats her promise of a forthcoming book-length study. A one-page 'Rejoinder to Susan Huntington' by Dehejia was included at the end of Huntington's article. In both articles, the discourse is broadened well beyond that of aniconism alone, but the latter is the primary contested terrain. The positions seem more clearly drawn, and one is struck with the feeling that in the process of making the positions more rigid, they are actually coming closer together.

Huntington emphasizes now that she has never claimed that there are no 'aniconic' works of art, and that the main thrust of her argument is that the explanatory power of the theory of aniconism has been overestimated and mistakenly applied (p. 111). As I have commented in this review, the latter is gratefully accepted as a benefit of the Huntingtons' research. However, she continues to emit an inordinate amount of heat to deny that the Buddha is 'missing' at the panel at Bhārhut depicting the descent at Sāṅkāśya (Fig. 1), for instance, or that on the scene on the east gateway of Stūpa 1 at Sāñcī, the Buddha's presence is aniconically evoked by the riderless horses held up by 'the townspeople' and the umbrellas held above, beside or in front of them. For her, the scene shows perhaps a procession honoring the Buddha-to-be's horse (p. 139), and not the 'presence' of the Buddha-to-be but his 'absence' (p. 116). Here is where there may be common ground: his very absence calls attention to his person, and a reconfigured, artist-based explanation of aniconism such as I have proposed would have no difficulty accommodating the position that 'his absence shows his presence'. Dehejia in her rejoinder terms this with precision the 'absent signifier' (p. 157).

Dehejia's article opens several of the same issues raised in the present context, including the question of *jātakas* and pageantry. This leaves the reader in the position of being able to consult Huntington's detailed rejoinders immediately after reading this review. Although the issue of the earliness of the Buddha image is largely ignored and hopefully laid to rest, Huntington defends her other positions vigorously, with clarifications, more arguments, and repeated cries of being misunderstood and taken out of context. If she is not convinced by the critiques of her theories, the same is true of their critics; and so far, defensiveness aside, the critiques seem to help her refine them in the process of defending them.

7 November 1993

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Geo-Archaeology of the Swāt Valley (NWFP, Pakistan) in the Chārbāgh-Barikoṭ Stretch Preliminary Note

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Foreword

Collaboration between the Dipartimento Geomineralogico of Bari University and IsMEO-Italian Archaeological Mission was launched in the spring of 1989, and includes a research project aimed at placing the archaeological sites of Swāt in the geological and lithological context of the region. The major research targets are: a) classification of the lithic material used in the buildings and sculptures found on the archaeological sites; b) identification of the source of this material and location of the early quarries; c) drawing up parallel geological and archaeological research on the most significant geological and archaeological aspects.

This preliminary note regards only the fieldwork carried out in 1989 in the area between Chārbāgh and Barikoṭ (Fig. 1). Further geo-archaeological researches were carried out by the authors in this area, in 1990 and 1991. A report on these researches is to be published soon (Di Florio et al., in press).

Geology of the Area

The Swāt Valley is situated in a geologically very important area. It is incised in a 'Suture Zone' (Main Mantel Thrust - MMT) between the Indo-Pakistan Plate and the Kohistan Island Arc (Fig. 2). The Suture Zone between the Kohistan Arc and the Euro-Asian Plate is located much more to the north (Tahirkheli & Jan 1979).

In our area, from NW to SE, three following major geological domains crop out:

- 1) Cretaceous-Tertiary metamorphic and magmatic rocks of the Kohistan Arc;
- 2) Cretaceous-Eocene ophiolitic mélange of the Suture Zone;
- 3) Pre-Triassic metamorphic and magmatic rocks of the Indo-Pakistan Plate.

All the examined archaeological sites are located on the Indo-Pakistan Plate and most of the lithic material used for the constructions and sacred monuments is of a local provenance. Therefore, our studies concerned at first the Indo-Pakistan Plate; later they were extended to the Suture Zone in order to better understand the regional geology and also because the major portion of the lithic material used for the sculptures and for the facing masonry of the

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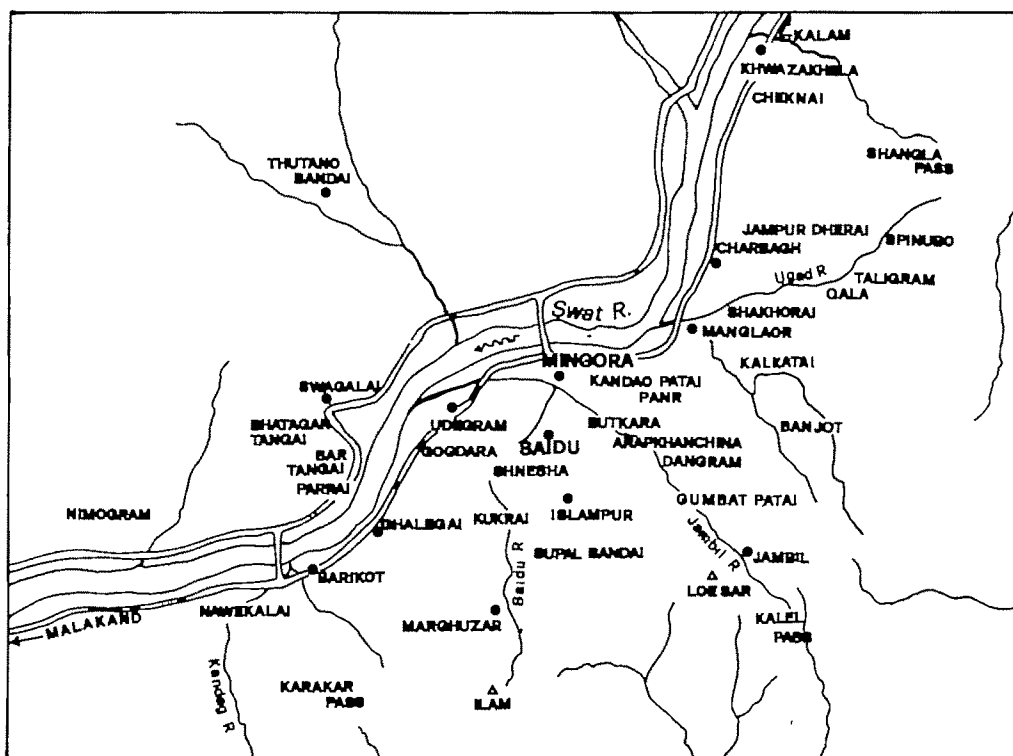


Fig. 1 - Sketch map of the area.

sacred monuments is of ophiolitic nature. Our knowledge of the Kohistan Arc is still very limited.

The geology and petrology of the area are not very well known and the existing interpretations are not univocal. There are three regional studies available in literature (Martin et al. 1962; Kazmi et al. 1984; Ahmad et al. 1987) and they contain a certain degree of detail; the interpretations of the different authors regarding the stratigraphy of the region are shown together with our interpretation in Figs. 3-4.

We believe that the *Indo-Pakistan Plate* is constituted by two different formations; their contact is of tectonic nature.

The *Lower formation* includes mainly Augengneisses and granitoids with per- to meso-silicic intrusions at different levels. The lowermost part of the sequence (Fig. 4), prevalingly made up by medium-high grade metamorphic rock with lavas and hypo-silicic dykes, could belong to a different formation. However, at present we do not offer any further information on it. As regards the Augengneisses and granitoids, we think that there are at least two different types according to age and metamorphic history. The gneisses are intruded by leucogranites, aplites-pegmatites, porphyrites and diorites present as lenticular bodies and dykes. Magmatic rocks of this type are found only in the Lower formation. The Upper formation contains, instead, quartz pegmatites which are also common in the Lower formation. The complexities

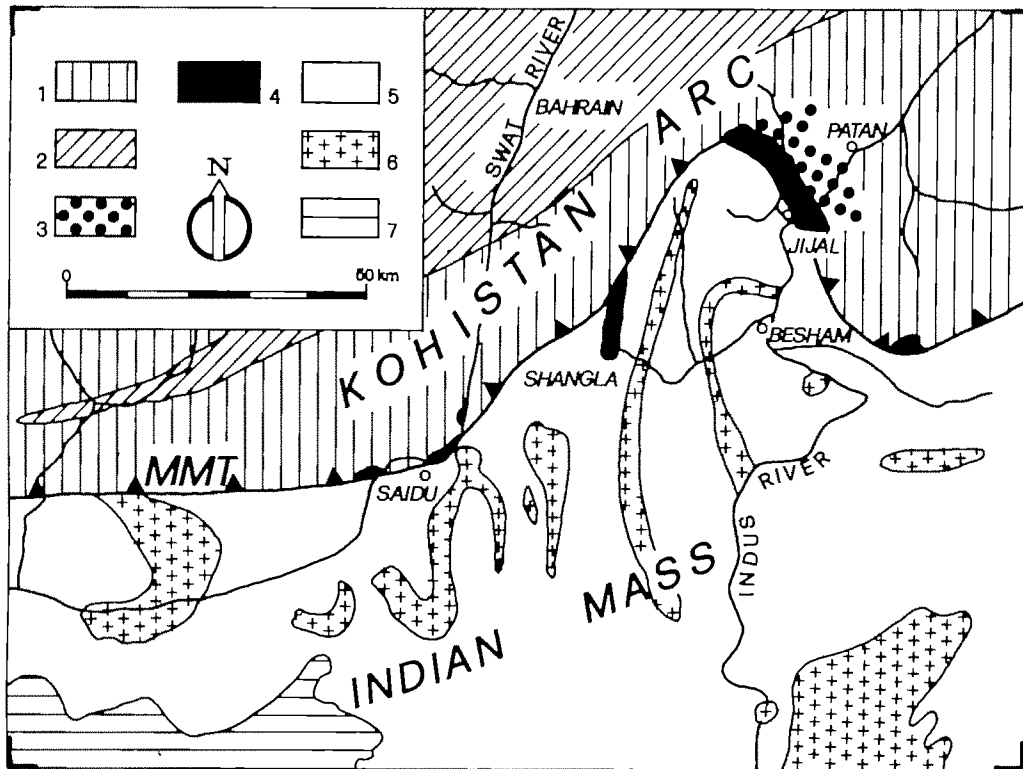


Fig. 2 - Geological sketch of the Swat Valley Kohistan Island Arc. 1. amphibolites; 2: pyroxene granulites; 3: garnet granulites. Suture Zone (MMT = Main Mantle Thrust); 4: ophiolitic mélange. Indo-Pakistan Plate, 5: Swat-Buner schists; 6: 'granites'; 7: Alluvium (from Tahirkheli & Jan 1979).

of the magmatic-metamorphic history suggest a pre-Cambrian or older age for the gneisses; this agrees with hypotheses of many other scholars.

The Lower formation corresponds to the 'siliceous schists + Swat granite gneisses' of Martin et al. (1962), to the 'Swat granite gneisses + Manglaur schists' of Kazmi et al. (1984) and to the 'Swat granite gneisses' of Ahmad et al. (1987). At present we prefer not to use any of the above names and maintain the generic name of 'Lower formation'.

The *Upper formation* is constituted mainly by a metapelitic-metarenitic-metacalcareous sequence with intercalations of amphibolites in the lower part of the sequence and prasinites in the uppermost part. This formation exhibits a clear metamorphic gradient. From the present day geometric high to the bottom, the metamorphic grade and the re-structuring become more and more pronounced. This formation underwent several deformation stages and blastic phases. In general, the schistosity dips to NW; folds are very frequent and are characterized by NE-N oriented axes, parallel limbs and predominant SE vergence. Dykes, lenses and aligned hydrothermal quartz nodules are widespread. The Upper formation corresponds to the 'amphibolite horizon + marbles and calcareous schists + phyllitic schists' of Martin et al. (1962), to the 'Alpurai schists + Saidu schists' of Kazmi et al. (1984) and to the 'Alpurai

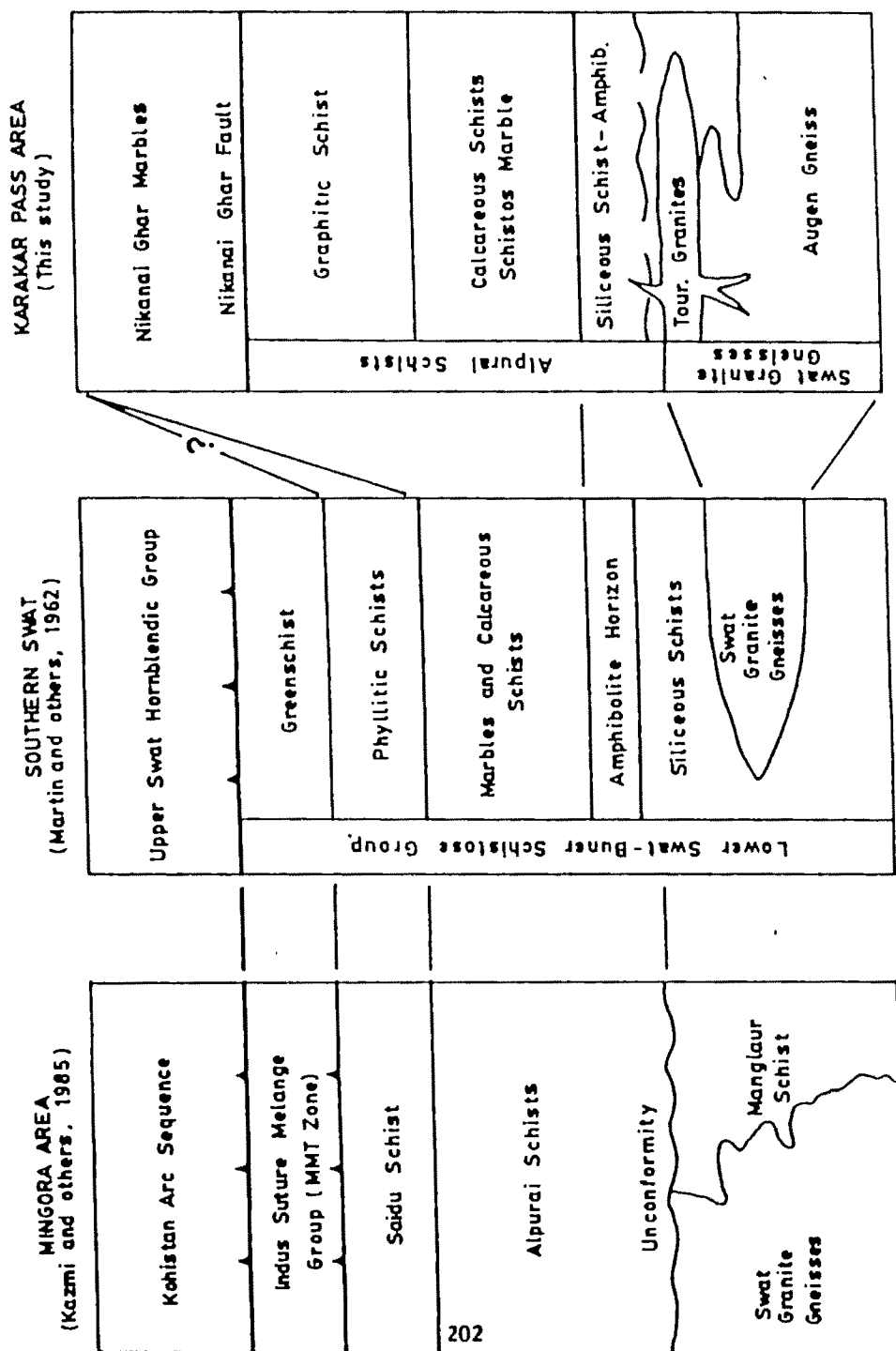


Fig 3 - Comparative 'stratigraphic columns' for southern Swat according to Ahmad et al. 1987: 202.

schists' of Ahmad et al. (1987).

The contact between the Upper and Lower formation is due to overthrust and is marked by lamination, mylonitization, tectonic wedges, and often by parallelization of schistosity; its trend is subhorizontal or slightly inclined with NW vergency. The contact, well visible on the right side of Ugaḍ River towards the confluence with the Swāt River, is characterized by large folds with NE oriented axes (especially evident approximately 5 km up Taligrām). Subsequently, the contact between the two formations was modified by the both compressive and tensional faults. A compressive fault inclined about 45° towards NW determines the contact in the NNE direction; the contact can be followed for several kilometres from the Swāt River Valley to the Saidu River Valley. The SE vergency implies that the faults of this system are linked to the rigid Alpine dynamics which influenced the old basement. The tensional faults are younger and belong to several systems. Due to the NW vergency and to the fact that the overthrust contact is folded and seems to pre-date sialic intrusions, the age of the overthrusting is probably pre-Alpine.

The *Suture Zone (MMT)* characterized by a tectonic mélange containing ophiolitic and adjacent crystalline rocks is extremely complex. We agree with Kazmi et al. (1984) that the Suture Zone can be subdivided, from South to North, in three 'mélange units': 1) Mingora ophiolitic mélange, 2) Charbagh green-schists mélange, 3) Shangla blue-schists mélange. Our studied area includes mainly the 'Mingora ophiolitic mélange'. As regards the origin of the ophiolites mélange, the interpretation of Tahirkheli & Jan (1979) appears to be the most convincing. Accordingly, the ophiolites would represent the Tethyan oceanic material obducted on the Indo-Pakistan Plate.

The ophiolitic rocks include chlorite-schists, in places characterized by the presence of post-kinematic muscovite, talc-schists with carbonate matter (called 'soapstone' in archaeological literature), calc-schists and marbles, phyllites and metatufites, serpentinites, actinolitic gneisses, epidotites and glaucophane gneisses (these last ones in the Shangla Pass zone: Desio & Shams 1980). Some lithotypes are difficult to distinguish from the rocks of the Upper formation. In the ophiolitic mélange plagiogranites little bodies, dykes, and veins moderately affected by boudinage phenomena typical of the mélange are present. The best examples can be seen on

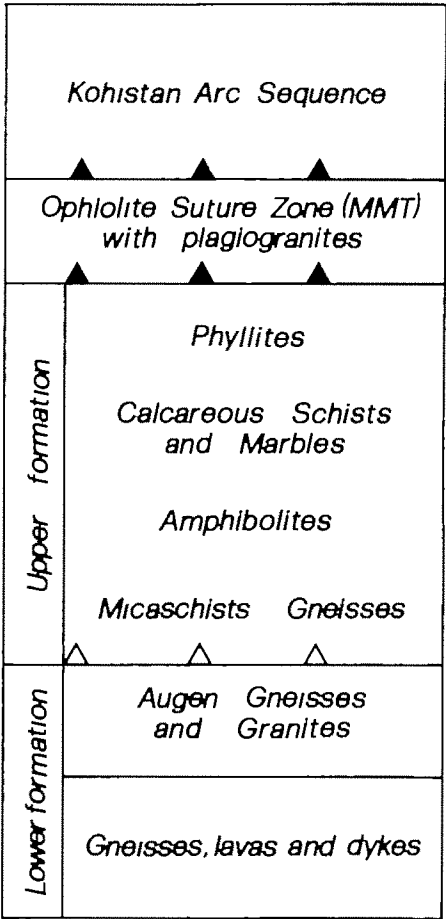


Fig. 4 - Geological-tectonic schematic section of the area. Closed triangles: Alpine tectonic contact. Open triangles: pre-Alpine tectonic contact.

the left side of the Saidu river opposite Saidu Sharīf. There the intrusive relationships with the chlorite-schists are evident.

The *contact* of the ophiolitic formation with the Indo-Pakistan Plate is clearly tectonic and is marked out in the landscape through a sharp change in morphology and vegetation. The contact has a NW vergency, a transverse trend with respect to all the observed compressive structures and is complicated by the lines of secondary movement. This is the case of the line opposite Saidu Sharīf, along which the ophiolitic body with plagiogranites is found. Thus it appears that during the obduction the ophiolites were transported along numerous more or less parallel pathways, which altogether constitute the MMT.

(C.F., S.L., E.Z.L.)

Archaeology of the Area

For the point a) and b) (see the Foreword) research focused on the Sacred Areas of Butkara I (Faccenna 1980-81), Pānī I (Faccenna, Khan & Nadiem 1993), Saidu Sharīf (Callieri 1989; Faccenna, in press). In the case of urban settlements, we took both the 'Bāzār' area and the Rāja Gīra Castle into consideration at Ūdegrām (Gullini 1958; 1962) to which was added the site of the Ghaznavid mosque at Ūdegrām-Rāja Gīra (Scerrato 1985; 1986), while at Barikoṭ research was focused on Trench BKG 2 (Callieri & Filigenzi 1984: 493-500).

We approached research on point c) by carrying out a census of rock reliefs and stelae, resuming a project that had been launched with a preliminary survey by A. Filigenzi and L.M. Olivieri in the autumn of 1987. The extreme interest, importance and sheer quantity of this material made documentation essential. Although the material collected is still being studied, a number of peculiar features have already been identified.

The earliest report on rock reliefs and stelae in Swāt derived from a survey carried out by A. Stein in 1926 (Stein 1930), which was followed by a further survey carried out by E. Barger and Ph. Wright in 1938 (Barger & Wright 1941). It was, however, with the fundamental, comprehensive survey carried out by G. Tucci in 1956 (Tucci 1958) that thorough study of this material began, while successively A.H. Dani carried out studies on similar in the nearby Dir district and Malakand Agency (Dani 1968-69).

The rock reliefs and stelae display Mahayanist features and subject: most of them show isolated Bodhisattva Padmapāni figures and triads with two standing figures, mostly Bodhisattvas, flanking the enthroned Buddha. Chronologically and stylistically speaking, these belong to the post-Gandharan age; they may, hypothetically, be taken to occur up in the vicinity of sacred areas and therefore mainly in the central part of Swāt between Chārbāgh and Barikoṭ, along the left bank and lateral valleys opening on the Swāt Valley (from N, notably: Ugad, Jāmbil, Saidu).

Jāmbil Valley. Research initially focused on previously visited areas; along the Jāmbil Valley new visits were made to the Sacred Areas of Arapkhānchīna, Ghildodar, Dangrām, Gudz, Gumbat Paṭai and Jāmbil (Tucci 1958: 309-12). Mention must also be made of Kandao Paṭai area, where a short, hilly buttress rising on the right side of the valley north of Mingora offers seven reliefs including two with triads.

Saidu Valley. Along this valley visits were made to sites at Islāmpūr, Kukṛai, Shneshā

and Supal Bāndai. Located near the village of Supal Bāndai is a well-known rock relief that, interestingly enough, includes among the various figures a four-armed standing figure (Taddei 1962: 289) with attributes (the *trīśūla* can be recognized) associated with Śiva (Fig. 5).

Ugad Valley. Exploration was carried out in the Ugad Valley and neighbouring areas to the north of Jāmbil Valley. As one enters the valley its importance is immediately revealed with the huge and well-known rock relief of the Buddha of Shakhori (Stein 1930: 50) and a great many remains of sacred areas. Three areas where most of the reliefs are concentrated have been identified in the valleys: Kalkatai (seven reliefs, including one with thirteen figures), Sangātā and Qal'a (to which we may add the Shāldara Tangai site just off the Ugad Valley). Ten reliefs confirming the importance of the site were found at Qal'a on the terrace previously known as the hill of Nangriai (Stein 1930: 51) overlying the village of Taligrām. On the topmost part of the terrace many sections of structures — apparently *stūpas* — can be seen, while the remains of other structures of impressive size — possibly the fortification referred to in the place name (*qal'a* = castle) — lie all around. The reliefs include two large Padmapāni figures (Fig. 6) showing interesting iconographic features: the throne supported by characteristic lions, the presence of Gaṇeśa below, besides one of the two Padmapāni figures, and a Gandharvī above, beside the same figure (Stein 1930: 51) (Fig. 7). The Banjoṭ relief (Tucci 1958: 308) is also interesting: a four-armed haloed standing figure with attributes (identified as a lotus flower in the upper right hand, a crown in the lower right hand, a *vajra* (?) in the upper left hand and the lower left hand in *varadamudrā*) (Fig. 8). Finally we may record a find at an ophiolite quarry in the Spīnūbo area consisting in a unfinished abandoned stele (Fig. 9).

Central and Upper Swāt. Surveys continued along the left bank. The Upper Swāt area includes the relief of Jari (Tucci 1958: 304, fig. 10) already known to scholars, and a stele at Jāmpūr Dherai. Various reliefs were found in the central stretch of the valley (from north southwards) at Mingora, Ūdegrām, Gogdara, Balogrām, Ghālegai and Barikoṭ; at Nawekalai, lying just south of Barikoṭ, a large number of reliefs were found in the vicinity of a *stūpa* and the remains of constructions and masonry work including a system — still in use — for channelling water from a nearby spring.

Right bank of the Swāt Valley. Survey was thus undertaken along the opposite right bank of the Swāt River, where fewer sacred areas are to be found. In fact only one relief was observed, at Parrai and a stele near Swagalai.

In conclusion, about a hundred reliefs and stelae were photographed and their data recorded. Most of this material was found in the vicinity of the sacred areas, which suggests they may be associated with the areas themselves and not only with the main communication routes.

While reconnaissance was being carried out on the right bank of the Swāt River, particular attention was paid to some fortified structures. These well-preserved structures, of type familiar to us in Swāt (Stein 1930; Barger & Wright 1951; Tucci 1958), were set along a ridge above the river bank running in a NE-SW direction. The most important structure is a fortress erected on one of the peaks formed by the ridge, Bar Tangai, to guard over the confluence between the Dadaharra and Swāt Valleys. Occupying a considerable length of the crest, this fortress still retains long stretches of the surrounding wall built on polygonal plan (max. preserved height 2 m; thickness 1 m) marked out by bastions erected on a circular plan (max. preserved height 4 m; diam. 6.5 m) (Figs. 10-11). Other structures are preserved within the surrounding wall, including two towers rectangular in plan and with circular corner buttresses. Identical towers



Fig. 5 - Supal Baṇḍai, rock relief: a four-armed standing figure (Śiva?). (Dep. CS Neg. 16983/23, L.M. Olivieri).



Fig. 6 - Qal'a, rock relief: Padmapāṇi flanked by Gaṇeśa and a Gandharvī. (Dep. CS Neg. 17013/23, L.M. Olivieri).



Fig. 7 - Qal'a, rock relief: a detail: Gaṇeśa. (Dep. CS Neg. 17013/26a, L.M. Olivieri).

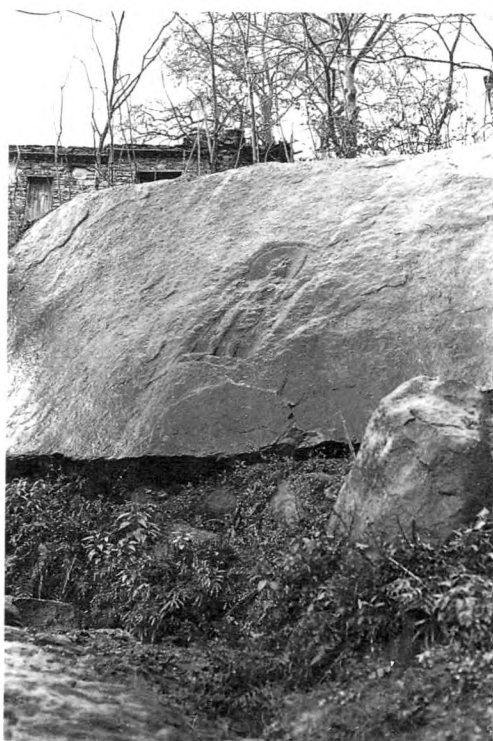


Fig. 8 - Banjot, rock relief: a four-armed standing figure. (Dep. CS Neg. 17011/36, L.M. Olivieri).



Fig. 9 - Spīnūbo, the unfinished stele. (Dep. CS Neg. 17015/a, L.M. Olivieri).

can be seen, isolated, at Bhatagar Tangai (Fig. 12), along the Ḍaḍaharra Valley, at Brakai, Nagwa, Parṛai (Callieri & Filigenzi 1984: 496, fig. 10) along the crest rising over the Swāt River. These towers, rectangular in plan, with two chambers (complete length *c.* 12 m; width *c.* 6 m) have circular corner buttresses (diam. *c.* 1.25 m); the towers must have stood to a height of 9-10 m (Foucher 1901: 164, fig. 27).

The position of the towers and their uniform plan suggest a line of fortifications forming a unified complex associated with the Bar Tangai fortress. The typology of the circular buttresses and bastions built on a circular plan, together with the masonry technique, point to certain analogies with the Rāja Gira Castle at Ūḍegrām and the Sūrai Tangai Castle in Upper Swāt (Stein 1930: 54; Tucci 1958: 320-22).

(L.M.O.)

Archaeological Sites in the Context of Their Geological Setting

All the examined archaeological sites are found on the Indo-Pakistan Plate and in particular on the Upper formation. The material used for the civil and religious buildings is always of



Fig. 10 - Bar Tangai, the fortress (from NNE). (Dep. CS Neg. 16985/27, L.M. Olivieri).



Fig. 11 - Bar Tangai, a view of the Swāt Valley from the ridge. (Dep. CS Neg. 16985/24, L.M. Olivieri).



Fig. 12 - Bhatagar Tangai, the tower and the Daḍaharra Valley (from WNW). (Dep. CS Neg. 16985/11, L.M. Olivieri).

local origin. When rock outcrops are present near the sites (as it is the case of Barikoṭ, Rāja Gīra Castle and Saidu Sharīf I) the outcropping rocks are used for constructions. Thus in Barikoṭ mico-schists with garnet and andalusite predominate, whereas chloritoid phyllites are most common in Rāja Gīra and Saidu; in particular in the D area of the Saidu Monastery (Callieri 1989: fig. 2) traces of an old quarry were found. When the archaeological sites are located in alluvional zones (Ūḍegrām ‘Bāzār’, Butkara I, Pānṛ I) the pebbly material of nearby rivers/torrents (*khwar*) is mostly used.

Only at Barikoṭ materials coming from outcrops located several kilometers away were used in considerable amounts. These are the amphibolites with or without garnet used for the base of the columns and for the walling of the square structure in trench BKG 2, which came most likely from the right side of the Kaṛākaṛ Valley, about 2 km up-valley from the entrance.

The material used for the masonry of the religious buildings could be analogous to that used in the civil buildings; however, in the sacred monuments linked by certain chronological phase, talc-schist with carbonate matter of the ophiolitic formation (Mingora ophiolitic mélange) were abundantly used (see Faccenna 1980-81; Faccenna et al. 1993: Appendix D; Faccenna, in press). The quarries of these rocks (parallelepipedal or circular blocks for *chattra*?) were



Fig. 13 - Swāt Valley, right bank: detail of a quarry.
(Dep. CS Neg. 17474/36a, L.M. Olivieri).



Fig. 14 - Saidu Valley, left bank: the quarry area.
(Photo E. Zanettin Lorenzoni).

identified by us on the right bank of the Swāt Valley (Fig. 13) and on the left bank of the Saidu Valley opposite the town of Saidu Sharīf, immediately under the plagiogranites (Fig. 14).

The sculptures recovered in the sacred areas in general are made of materials from the ophiolitic formation. In particular chlorite-schists (most common), talc-schist with carbonate matter (for example this lithotype was used for one of the two lions at Butkara I), and phyllites from the Upper formation of the Indo-Pakistan Plate were employed.

The rock reliefs and the stelae are mostly made out of Augengneisse from the Lower formation or calc-schists of the Upper formation; rarely (in Mingora) they are made in prasinites from the Upper formation of the Indo-Pakistan Plate. Finally, the already mentioned finding of an unfinished stele in the Spīnūbo locality, near a quarry with ophiolitic material, is of extreme interest. The stele which was made there using the material from the quarry is several kilometres away from the closest sacred area. This testified that the artistic activity linked to rock reliefs and stelae took place within a more complex work site.

(C.F., S.L., L.M.O., E.Z.L.)

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Śaṣṭhī in Gandharan Art

by R.C. AGRAWALA

The Cleveland Museum of Art acquired an interesting grey-schist Gandharan diptych leaf datable to the 2nd-3rd century A.D. (Figs. 1-3); it measures 14.6 cm (approx. 6 in.) in height and 6 cm (2½ in.) in width; it was entered as no. 73.76 in the Museum's records. It is part of a portable shrine meant for private worship — such examples are frequently carved on both sides with multiple scenes from the Buddha's life (Czuma 1985: 162-63, pl. 80 on p. 162) ⁽¹⁾.

The vertical panel, under reference, is divided into two horizontal parts; the lower portion (Fig. 2) presents a young couple in standing pose; the female (to the left of the male figure) wears the typical Gandharan *labaniga* type of nether garment touching the ground. To the left (near the right leg of the male figure) is seated an attendant or a devotee in *anjali* pose. The male (standing to left) holds a lotus stalk in his right hand and a bird in his left, which makes his identification somewhat problematic. Likewise, a horn-like object appearing in the centre of the crown of the female figure is all the more puzzling; she holds a lotus in her right hand. My friend Dr S.J. Czuma (*ibid.*: 163) has identified these standing human figures as a 'tutelar couple', as donees. There is no lance in the right hand of the male figure here; besides he wears a *dhōṭī* as a nether garment, reaching his knees. Therefore it is not possible to identify him with Skanda Kumāra, though the presence of a bird in his left hand is quite interesting.

The 5 cm high arched space, in the panel above (Fig. 3), is particularly interesting here because of the two figures, a male and a female, seated side by side. Dr Czuma tries to associate them with Pāñcika and Hārītī — a motif which was quite favourite with the Gandharan artists. A detailed scrutiny of the weapons in the hands of the male figure makes it quite clear that he is none else but Skanda-Kārttikeya carrying a lance or *śakti* in his right hand and a bird (i.e., a cock) in his left in a traditional manner, though he does not wear the coat of mail so typical of a warrior as in most of the Gandharan statues published by R.C. Agrawala, M. Taddei, etc. ⁽²⁾. Dr Czuma somehow did not notice the presence of a bird in the left hand

⁽¹⁾ I am extremely obliged to Dr S.J. Czuma, Keeper of Indian and South Asian Art, Cleveland Museum, USA, for the excellent photograph sent for my detailed study. He deserves all praise for acquiring such a precious piece for his Museum.

⁽²⁾ R.C. Agrawala & Taddei 1966: fig. 2; Taddei 1987. The Indian Art Museum at Berlin preserves an even more interesting Gandharan statue where Skanda is associated with bells and banners; a peacock is also carved on the pedestal (Museum für Indische Kunst, no. I.5811; ht. 20 cm: R.C. Agrawala 1992). See also R.C. Agrawala 1968: 163-64 and plate; Pal 1986: 164 and plate illustrating a Gandhāra Skanda in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art.



Fig. 1 - The Cleveland Museum of Art, John L. Severance Fund, 73.76.

to her is certainly an interesting trait. One has to search for more icons of this type, though we already know some Kuṣāṇa Mathuran panels where the standing Śaṣṭhī is flanked by Skanda and Viśākha ⁽⁴⁾.

⁽³⁾ R.C. Agrawala 1969; R.C. Agrawala 1971: 82-84; Joshi 1986: 66-68; P.K. Agrawala 1971. See also Pal 1977: 20, fig. 9, where he alludes to an interesting headless image of a mother holding both a purse and a child, now in the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston, USA. Equally interesting is Härtel 1987.

⁽⁴⁾ The *triśikha* type of hair on his head (lower panel) resemble a similar device on the head of the seated Skanda in the arched space above. The presence of the bird in his left hand (in the lower panel) may suggest some affinity with Skanda, but one must await more evidence in this direction. The standing female figure here might represent Devasenā-Lakṣmī with a single head.

of the seated male person and that created a problem for proper identification. There is thus no indication of any association with Pāñcika, the spouse of Hārītī.

The details of the female figure to his right are all the more interesting. She holds a lotus in her left hand and a purse in her right — both symbolizing prosperity and abundance. But the carving of five tiny human heads around her main head calls for her specific identification with Śaṣṭhī, the goddess who is associated with Skanda-Kumāra, both as his wife and sister in Indian literature, as already indicated by several scholars ⁽³⁾.

This particular motif was very popular with the Kuṣāṇa sculptors of Mathurā, who had carved independent statues of Śaṣṭhī with five female figures emanating from her body; elsewhere five human heads are shown around the head of the main female figure, as it is also seen in the arched portion of the Cleveland Museum diptych. Viewed in this light, the latter is of great iconographic interest and adds a new trait to the Brahmanic iconography of the Gandhāra region — there is no scope for searching for a Buddhist theme.

The panel below calls for a closer scrutiny, as the six-headed Śaṣṭhī in the company of Skanda appearing next



Fig. 2 - A detail of Fig. 1.



Fig. 3 - A detail of Fig. 1.

The Cleveland Museum diptych is a welcome addition to Gandharan art, though it is not yet clear whether the arched portion here depicts Śaṣṭhī as the spouse or the sister of Skanda. It is to be emphasized that sufficient prominence is given to her by making her precede the male deity ⁽⁵⁾ — she comes first and Skanda is the next in order.

⁽⁵⁾ The attribution of warlike or destructive and also protective power to the Brahmanical divine couple Skanda-Kārttikeya and Devasenā or Śaṣṭhī, as well as to the popular Buddhist divine couple Pāṇcika and Hārītī, perhaps helped the growth of a sense of affiliation to the former group amongst the Buddhist rulers and subjects; attempts were even made to project Kumāra as a preacher of Buddhism (Mukherjee 1987). As 'sixth' in the scheme of the Skanda family, his spouse Devasenā was named Śaṣṭhī, as 'fifth' Skanda was known as Pāṇcika. The association of Guhyaka Kubera with Guha Skanda is well known (P.K. Agrawala 1967: 49). The device of placing the female figure as first and the seated male Skanda next in the Cleveland Museum panel's upper half, recalls to our minds a somewhat similar order of the figures in the Gallo-Roman panels reproduced by Foucher (1917: 141-45, pl. 17, nos. 1-2). It appears that the Gandharan sculptor placed the Indian motif in the upper half here though retaining the Roman order of figures, whereas the lower half followed the Indian device.

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Crying Leaves

Some Remarks on 'The Art of Pāla India (8th-12th Centuries) and Its International Legacy'

by CLAUDINE BAUTZE-PICRON

The art of Bihar and Bengal from the 8th to the early 13th century has drawn the attention of various scholars ever since the beginning of this century. Before long, its central position within the Buddhist world of the time was recognized. This area was central in the development of late Buddhist thought, named *Vajrayāna inter alia*, and of its plastic richness. The iconography, be it literary or plastic, was extremely rich and was later inherited by the Tibetan and Nepalese monks. And there is ample artistic evidence from Southeast Asia to prove that intensive contacts were developed between the different States of this part of the world and Northeast India. We must thank Susan and John Huntington for having decided to organize a thematic exhibition showing the impact of 'Pāla' art on the Asian world. A catalogue ⁽¹⁾ was written by them to accompany this exhibition; it is very long (more than 600 pages) and includes illustrations of all the exhibited objects, partly (the paintings and some sculptures) in colour. We did not have the opportunity to see the exhibition and had to rely on the information given by two colleagues who saw it in two different sites; nonetheless, it appears to us that the choice of the objects does not, in a number of examples, sustain the initial aim, namely to underline those aspects of 'Pāla' art which were transferred to foreign countries and to introduce 'foreign' objects including 'Pāla' elements. We wonder whether it was clear to the visitor or to the reader why there are four images of Sūrya, four of Viṣṇu, two of Śiva... when objects from outside India are, some images from Nepal or Indonesia excepted, all Buddhist. Why include a double-faced Garuḍa, why show a divine musician, when no further architectural fragment can be displayed or when this image is not considered in relation to other similar motifs? (cat. 22 and 34). Why an image of Gaṇeśa when no hint is given as to the place of the deity in the Buddhist pantheon? Why a representation of Bhairava when the correlation with the depiction of Mahākāla is not made? (cat. 21 and 28). These questions remain unanswered. It is, however, a fact that American collections contain some of the major pieces for our knowledge of Buddhist iconography in the 'Pāla' period, e.g. the

(1) Susan L. Huntington and John C. Huntington, *Leaves from the Bodhi Tree: The Art of Pāla India (8th-12th Centuries) and Its International Legacy*, Published by The Dayton Art Institute in Association with the University of Washington Press, Seattle-London 1990, in-4°, 615 pp., 46 colour pls., 132 black-and-white pls., 80 figs. in text.

two almost similar depictions of Mañjuvajra Mañjuśrī in the Metropolitan Museum and in the Nalin collection. Some images that belong together are also dispersed, like the Avalokiteśvara and the Maitreya today kept at Boston and Los Angeles. This would have been an opportunity to admire them as they used to be, together (and probably accompanying a central figure of the Buddha).

In the pages which follow, we shall concentrate on the part of the catalogue dealing with 'Pāla' art itself. Only a few remarks will be introduced thereafter about the non-Indian material, since we prefer to leave to more knowledgeable colleagues in those various non-Indian fields the task of studying the relevant parts of the catalogue.

Eastern India has long been recognized as the last stronghold of Buddhism on Indian soil before its disappearance from the Peninsula. Monasteries and places of pilgrimage are distributed in the Indian States of Bihar, Orissa or West Bengal and in Bangladesh. Monks came from all over the Buddhist world to visit those places or to study there. When returning to their homeland, they did not only carry 'Leaves from the Bodhi Tree' but actively participated in the introduction into their country of iconographic and stylistic patterns which were to merge into local artistic traditions. And this Indian style constituted a reference for the centuries to come. Even in 18th-century China, bronzes could be cast after what were most probably direct Indian prototypes (cat. 161 and 162).

As the authors show with their selection of the material, this Eastern Indian style can be traced in a vast diaspora. The choice of the objects is delicate because the demonstration has to rely almost completely on the analysis and visual experience of the spectator (of the exhibition) or of the reader (of the catalogue). Thus the core of the catalogue is constituted by 60 objects manufactured in Eastern India or attributed to the region (cat. 45, which was in fact discovered in Java). Through a balanced selection of objects from Myanmar (Burma) (cat. 61-68), Thailand (cat. 69), Indonesia (cat. 70-87), Nepal (cat. 89-104), Tibet and China (cat. 88, 105-165), we are offered the possibility of getting a glance of the widespread influence of the style and the Buddhist iconography which blossomed in Eastern India between the 8th and the 12th centuries. Within each geographical heading, the objects are listed according to the material in which they are executed (stone, bronze, painting, varia). The presentation is clear: the catalogue is divided into chapters related to the different geographical areas mentioned above, and the descriptions are introduced by a general presentation of the relation between Eastern India and the area concerned and of problems related to the methodology on the one hand, and the history of art on the other hand. Each entry is followed by footnotes where necessary, and enlarged by the list of publications where the object has been published. The text most probably owes some of its length to the fact that each reference is fully quoted at each mention; e.g. we note that the catalogue of *Divine Bronze: Ancient Indonesian Bronze from A.D. 600 to 1600* (Lunsingh Scheurleer & Klokke 1988), is quoted five times between pp. 242 and 244 (on p. 242 alone, it appears three times), each mention occupying between 5 and 7 lines of text. The authors probably selected this method for technical reasons, but the catalogue would have been much reduced, had they introduced a more economic system of reference.

A 'Select Bibliography' is introduced in the last part of the work, and it is evidently select! For reasons which we ignore, the authors have not included, for instance, the volume of articles on the art of Eastern India edited by G. Bhattacharya (1989) although they mention it in

various places of the catalogue with reference to published images. This would have been the right place to enlarge the bibliography contained in Huntington 1984, since a number of articles dealing exclusively with aspects of this school, *inter alia* with specific aspects of Buddhist iconography, have been since then published by various authors such as Janice Leoshko, Gouriswar Bhattacharya or the author of this review. And since it is Buddhism which transported the Eastern Indian style abroad, any aspect of Buddhist iconography considered within these geographical limits has also some bearings on Buddhist iconography outside the very same limits. It is also true that some aspects of Buddhist iconography in India can be explained through literary or plastic sources from other countries, Tibet or Japan usually, since there the tradition was maintained; there, too, the research led by J. Leoshko on Amoghapāśa Lokēśvara or more recently G. Mevissen on the Pañcarakṣā is relevant.

A glossary follows, which explains Sanskrit terms used in the catalogue. But the authors are unfortunately vague about the sources which provided some of the terms used in the catalogue, such as *bimbamukuta* (s.v. in the glossary, e.g. cat. 15, 33, p. 141, fn. 1, p. 160), *merumukuta* (s.v. in the glossary and e.g. cat. 25 p. 151), *mukutadharin* (s.v. in the glossary and p. 105 or cat. 15 p. 140). Nor do they explain why they still make use of the term *tribhanga* though it cannot be accepted any more with the same meaning after the work of K.M. Varma (1983) (s.v. in the glossary and e.g. cat. 25, 36, 37 p. 151, 163, 164). As for the 'esoteric' explanation of *mrgadāva* (sic! The term is read as *mrgadāya* by A. Bareau 1963: 161 ff.), proposed on p. 145 (cat. 19) by Susan L. Huntington, it differs too much from present research to be accepted without reserve. This observation also applies to the translation proposed on p. 319 for 'Khadiravanī Tārā', she is the one who belongs to or is in the forest of *kbadira*, and not the 'female sound of the *kbadira*' (*kbadira* + *vanī* = *kbadiravanī*, and it is not *vāṇī* but *vanī* which is to be read here).

A set of maps and a chart summarizing the Tibetan painting styles concludes the volume. They are useful to the reader, but while we are not in a position to make any comment about the maps showing the distribution of sites in Tibet, we would like to observe that the map of Eastern India does not truly account for the religious situation from the 8th to the 12th or 13th century. The detailed map on p. 607 includes sites such as Hilsa or Guneri. The material recovered in both these places is rather limited and belongs to an early period, before the 11th century when the Tibetans really started to visit intensively the monasteries of Bihar. They are of a limited relevance here. On the other hand, a place like Telhara, not seen on the map, which is located not so far away from Hilsa, was visited in the 7th century by Hsüan-tsang, and Buddhist remains from the late post-Gupta or early Pāla period were recovered from the place or are still to be seen *in situ*. Similarly, the two villages of Ghosravan and Tetravan, situated to the east of Nalanda, are not mentioned on the map, although they have yielded numerous images, partly kept at the Indian Museum of Calcutta, partly still *in situ*. But moreover, since she discredits Tetravan as 'a site of unknown importance' (cat. 33, p. 160), the author is even led to propose Nalanda as the location of the atelier responsible for the Tārā dated in Rāmapāla's reign and which was precisely discovered at Tetravan (Huntington 1984: fig. 74). Beside those two forgotten villages of some importance for Buddhist (and secondarily Hindu) art from the 9th up to the 12th century, another major site is completely neglected by the authors. Further east, on the western side of the Kiul, Lakhi Sarai and the neighbouring villages have yielded a fairly large number of images datable from the 11th up to the 13th century, which testifies to the existence of a Buddhist centre particularly active in the elaboration of new iconographic types, such as Mahāśrī Tārā, Mahākālā, or Krodhas.

Kept in private collections or in museums (Indian Museum, Calcutta or Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin) or still scattered in the vicinity of the city, the numerous images found there can be directly related to Tibetan paintings or sculptures. Moreover, the site was integrated within a network of roads leading to Antichak and Patharghata in the east, Nalanda in the west, and Simraongarh in the north. Beside the Devī of cat. 32, two stelae presented here (cat. 27 and 35) were probably produced in an atelier at Lakhi Sarai.

But what also becomes more evident after a careful study of images from Lakhi Sarai and from sites located along the Ganga or in Monghyr district, is the existence of relations between this region and the vast region situated in southeast Bangladesh, mainly around Vikramapura but also extending as far as Chittagong. We shall not enter here into the details of this very complex situation, but we can only mention the existence of three stone images found in the region (at least two of them, and the third one was most probably also carved there) which illustrate an iconographic program otherwise unknown in India but which finds direct counterparts at Pagan or in the painting kept in the collection of the Zimmerman family (cat. 107). In his description of this painting (pp. 316-18, particularly p. 318), John C. Huntington writes that 'it [i.e. the painting] contains a remarkable feature that is apparently wholly Tibetan — an iconographic synthesis of two iconographic programs', a statement which requires some adjustment. Having studied in detail the images from Southeast Bangladesh illustrating the same iconographic program (two are reproduced by Banerji 1933: pl. XIX b-c), as well as numerous representations of various deities of the late Buddhist pantheon kept at the National Museum of Bangladesh or in various collections (in particular the Nalin collection in the USA), we can come to the conclusion that the region constituted an important centre from at least the 11th century to the beginning of the 13th century and the painting in the Zimmerman collection is directly related to this production (and beyond it to the production of Pagan). Innovations took place in the region, which were later on inherited by Tibetan artists. New iconographies were shaped, such as the Mañjuvajra Mañjuśrī of which the Metropolitan Museum image or the Nalin collection image are extraordinary illustrations (Casey 1985: cat. 33; Metropolitan Museum inv. 57.51.6). Interestingly enough, Mañjuvajra Mañjuśrī appears twice on an early Tibetan painting of a hierarchy; it is very possible that he is there seen as the tutelary deity of the monk since he is depicted above him, in the centre of the upper row but also within a shrine painted in the lower row (Casey Singer 1986: 41-45). The standing Mañjuśrī included in the catalogue under review (no. 25) originates from the same geographical area.

A third area is neglected, that centres on the Rajshahi district in Bangladesh. Images essentially carved in the 12th century were collected from various places; they are mostly preserved in the Varendra Research Museum at Rajshahi and illustrate different iconographies, such as the Tārā, Mārīcī. Mañjuśrī displaying the *dharmacakrapravartanamudrā* and seated above the lion. But although the material is still unexplored, one can surmise that this late centre held some place in the diffusion of Buddhism outside the 'Pāla' country. Although its precise location is still unknown, the monastery of Jaggaddala was founded under the region of Rāmapāla, towards the end of the 11th or the beginning of the 12th century and later Tibetan sources explain how monks abandoned the centres of Bihar after the Muslim invasion before gathering at Jaggaddala from where they departed for various countries. The site of Paharpur, the ancient Somapuri, is described by S.L. Huntington as having yielded 'a number of sculptures [...] some of which display the most esoteric symbolism of the period' (p. 88). We would be very happy to know more about them, for all that is known

to us is a small fragmentary carving of Hevajra embracing his Prajñā (reproduced by Huntington 1984: fig. 202).

Thus, if the author presents some important monasteries or pilgrimage centres, pp. 87-88, she does not clearly show the existence of regions, of various sizes, which developed 1) stylistic peculiarities or 2) distinctive iconographic features that can be traced in the art of the Himalaya on the one hand, in the art of Myanmar on the other. Moreover, as we only mention without going into further details here, we are also today in a position to indicate precisely the existence of relations between these regions within India and thus to trace roads connecting them. If Susan L. Huntington introduces images from southeast Bangladesh in her catalogue, she does not clearly define the region as a political and cultural centre during all the 'Pāla' period. Through Vikramapura, monks went to the region of Chittagong and further to Pagan: the connection is there clearly made in style and in iconography and we do not understand the need of making of Assam the intermediary region between Bengal and Myanmar, as the author does (p. 111). The link between Assam and Myanmar, which the author cannot establish on the basis of Buddhist material, if it existed, was independent of the relation between the area of Vikramapura and Pagan, with the area of Chittagong as an intermediary place. Though built at an earlier period, the monastery of Mainamati was still in activity up to a late period, construction continued and manuscripts were still made in the 13th century (Bautze-Picron 1992).

In mentioning the monastery of Vikramaśīla p. 88 the author introduces the name of Atīśa but, strangely enough, does not give the names of two further celebrities of the monastery, Abhayākara-gupta, author of the *Niṣpannayogavālī*, and the Kashmiri Śākyaśrī. And in the description of the manuscript of The Asia Society, cat. 58 (pp. 185-89), both authors ignore, p. 187, that the Kashmiri hierarch lived at Vikramaśīla and at Jagaddala before going to Tibet (Naudou 1968: 196).

While presenting the particular emphasis that was put at the time on eight events of the Buddha's life (pp. 85-86), the author underlines that four events became major. But those which she mentions are not those selected for representation on the four faces of votive *caityas* as has been shown by M. Bénisti (1981, vol. I: 41-51). Unfortunately, Susan L. Huntington does not mention this discrepancy and *a fortiori* cannot propose any explanation which accounts for it. She also does not specify how iconographic themes appear to have, within certain limits, emerged in certain sites where they were more often depicted than in other sites. The point is relevant here, for these favoured iconographies can be observed later on in areas outside India and to know where they developed more particularly within the Peninsula, might help to trace connection roads. For instance, the depiction of the Eight great events is often met with at Nalanda, the triad composed by the Buddha accompanied by Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya emerged most probably at Bodh Gaya, the images of Mahākāla and of Mahāśrī Tārā were more particularly worshipped along the Ganga, from Lakhi Sarai eastwards, Mañjuvajra Mañjuśrī is observed in southeast Bangladesh and in the 12th century, Mañjuśrī displaying the *dharmacakramudrā* and seated on the lion is known in north Bengal. These are only a few examples of such iconographies that are limited in time and in space, which does not imply that they may never be discovered in other areas, but there they occur as stray finds.

The same remarks can be applied to the lines devoted to the position of Hinduism (pp. 89-90). This very simple methodological approach which is to relate iconographies with time and space shows how specific iconographic types were more worshipped in some places than in others. Aṣṣad is surely a major centre in the cult of the Devī in the pre-Pāla or Pāla

period: at Nalanda itself, numerous images of Sūrya and of the Devī were made before the 11th century; at Gaya, the cult of the Devī developed particularly in the 8th and 9th century, while the cult is also linked with the worship of Śiva at this place and at Bodh Gaya (and in sites influenced by Bodh Gaya, such as Itkhauri). The examples could be multiplied. Moreover, contrary to what the author writes (p. 83), there are inscriptions to prove important donations in favour of Hindu temples and *aśrama* at Gaya.

When writing about the 'virtual absence of Jain art from the Pāla repertoire' (p. 90), the author does not mention that the few examples of Jain images are usually found in very limited sites, some already functioning in the post-Gupta period, like Rajgir. Pakbirra in the Purulia district has images dating probably from before the 11th century, scattered images from a later period were discovered in north Bengal, in the Dinajpur district *inter alia*, another group of stelae are preserved from Campapur in the Bhagalpur district...

The genealogy and the chronology of the Pāla rulers, presented pp. 78-82, calls for some observations. In her book on 'Pāla-Sena' schools of sculpture (1984), the author introduced a valuable appendix listing the dated images, which amounted to 77; this list, as she notes on p. 92 and p. 119 (n. 89), has since been enlarged but, strangely enough, the author forgets to mention the Avalokiteśvara preserved at the Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin which bears an inscription incised most probably in the regnal year 2 of Mahendrapāla (Bhattacharya 1986: 29-45, particularly 35). S.L. Huntington reminds us also how palaeography was used 'as a means of dating images'. This is a good place to underline how palaeography has to be handled very carefully. Till a recent date, the images inscribed during the reign of Mahendrapāla were dated around 900; with the recent discovery of the Jagajjibanpur copper plate, the identity of the king has changed as the dates of his reign, with the result that the inscribed images are now to be dated some fifty years earlier. But it does not seem that any scholar has ever suggested that those inscriptions illustrate a phase earlier than the one illustrated by the inscriptions of Sūrapāla and Vīgrahapāla (I), two rulers who were then considered to have reigned before Mahendrapāla, when in fact they ruled after him!

But the discovery of the Jagajjibanpur copper plate and the important modification which it introduced to our knowledge of the Pāla genealogy and the changes which it implies in the chronology of the rulers does not excuse the shift of dates which the author introduces for all the rulers having reigned after Mahendrapāla (p. 81 and p. 542). Thus her 'most up-to-date chronology [...] adjusting the dates of subsequent monarchs based on an approximately fifteen-year reign for Mahendrapāla' is simply wrong. In short, the knowledge that Mahendrapāla was the elder son of Devapāla and ruled before his brother Sūrapāla introduced new queries which cannot be solved by shifting all the subsequent reigns. With her chronology, a ruler like Madanapāla in the 12th century ruled after his death! The reign of this king is safely dated: *śaka* 1083 is equivalent to his regnal year 18 which is also the last date available for his reign. This implies that the ruler's reign extended between 1143 and 1161, dates which have changed by S.L. Huntington into 1158-1176 (p. 542). The right dating is given in Ead. 1984: 37, where she published the chronology proposed by D.C. Sircar; this chronology was partly corrected by D.C. Sircar in his last book (1982: 179-80; the Jagajjibanpur was discovered after the death of the scholar) where he redated the reign of Sūrapāla by extending it from 5 to 12 years, taking into consideration the Viṣṇu image discovered in the meantime (*ibid.*: figs. 2-5). It is also a mystery to us why Sūrapāla is then dated in Huntington's chronology between 'ca. 865-873' and why she gives a 'known reign length' of five years to the monarch (p. 542). Another point should be mentioned: in her book (1984:

37 and fig. 48) she publishes and mentions the Balarāma dated in the regnal year 37 of Rājyapāla; without explanation, she introduces a doubt about this dating in her latest publication (p. 542: '32 + 5?') and proposes as approximate dates for the reign 932-967, disregarding thus the year 37. This brief glance at the chronology published by S.L. Huntington in the catalogue proves that the information which she gives cannot be accepted without reserve.

Contradictions are not limited to the chronology of the Pāla rulers. While writing, p. 81, that the link between these kings and Buddhism is weak, she completely contradicts this assessment on pp. 104-5 where she supposes that 'the site of Bodh Gayā and the Vajrāsana Buddha became dynastic symbols of the Pāla reign'. She makes use of the translation 'Like Buddha attaining enlightenment...' (p. 121, fn. 139) for sustaining her hypothesis, but the Sanskrit text reads '[...] bodhisattva iva saugatam padam' which cannot be so clearly translated. While discussing the possible Burmese origin of the Candra kings who ruled in southeast Bangladesh (p. 82), she surmises that if they actually came from Myanmar, this fact would explain the artistic similarities between styles from Bengal and Myanmar. But as we have seen earlier in this review, she completely neglects the specificity of the southeastern style of Bangladesh, which introduces a number of elements also observed in the art of Myanmar. Further, she does not mention the Varman or the Deva who ruled in southeast Bangladesh at a time when Buddhism was important there.

S.L. Huntington presents (pp. 91-92) a short survey of the architecture of the period, and relates the stelae to an architectural structure in which they must have been introduced. As the author emphasizes, a special feature of the architecture was then the niches on the outside walls of the temple. Those niches were occupied by sculptures as we know from temple 2 at Nalanda, still adorned with stone panels, or from the Maniyar *matba* at Rajgir or the temple at Apsad where stucco images used to adorn the niches. Such stucco images of the Buddha and bodhisattvas were also introduced in the niches on the outer wall of the Bodhi *mandir* at Bodh Gaya, as we know from 19th century photographs, or can still be seen in some niches of the monument of site III at Nalanda. However, we do not know of temples where stone images would have occupied this position. Stone images at Nalanda were often recovered from shrines, when they are large, which suggests that large stone images were then made for being worshipped in the shrine. It is also true that *stūpas* were then essentially small votive structures which are still to be seen in large numbers at Bodh Gaya, for instance. But it is not completely true that no *stūpa* was then built. A. Cunningham excavated one at Kiul which he dated 'not earlier than the 9th or 10th c.' (1966, vol. III: 157).

While discussing the paintings on cloth, pp. 99-100, the author does not take into consideration the main information provided by the *Mañjuśrīmūlakatpa*, which is particularly relevant for the study of iconography during the Pāla period but which also gives information on the making of *paṭas* (Lalou 1930).

After a short but clear presentation of the various artistic expressions of the period, architecture, stone and bronze sculpture, painting (pp. 90-102), S.L. Huntington considers the iconography of the Buddhists, the Hindus and the Jains (pp. 102-10). She elaborates (p. 103, and in cat. 13 to 15) on the Buddha's particular way of wearing the monastic robe. When the Buddha displays the *bhūmisparśamudrā*, his right shoulder is bare: this would, according to the author, thus be an element characterizing this event which she takes as being 'technically a pre-enlightenment [... which has been] mistakenly identified as the enlightenment itself' (p. 104). Whether this shows a 'pre' or a 'post-enlightenment' does not seem to be greatly relevant here. What is aimed at is a depiction of the event which took place at Bodh

Gaya. The Enlightenment itself was a psychic event and, as such, was not visible. It has thus to be referred to through elements alluding to events related to it and which could be plastically illustrated. The same applies for the depiction of other major events of the Buddha's life; the *cakra* with the two deers below the Buddha displaying the *dharmacakrapravartanamudrā* allows a direct identification of the event, but it does not tell anything about the content of the words spoken by the Buddha. Now, if the bare shoulder implies that Śākyamuni is not yet a Buddha, how are we to explain the depiction of the dead Buddha with a bare shoulder, or eventually the depiction of the Buddha on other occasions? (e.g. Huntington 1984: figs. 34, 35, 38, 163, 168, 175; Banerji 1933: pls. XIV d, XXXI c...). Besides, how are we to explain that the bare shoulder is also seen when the accomplished Buddha is involved in another major event of his life, as depicted on the *andagu* slab from Myanmar when, as the author notices (pp. 217 and 221 *inter alia*), the iconography of the Eight great events in Myanmar 'is clearly based on the Pāla model' (cat. 61 and 62, pp. 217-222)?

The question of the Buddha's dress is doubtless interesting and would deserve more research. But here also, an iconographic explanation is probably not sufficient. The images from Nalanda are rarely shown without any indication of the folds up to the 10th century, whereas afterwards the situation is reversed — whatever moment of the Buddha's life is depicted. Elsewhere, the distinction can be made between the central image and the side figures. In her analysis of the material, S.L. Huntington proposes a very dogmatic explanation for facts which could also express a more practical solution to a given situation: to produce an image of the Buddha (alone or with smaller figures of the same). A brief glance at the Buddha of cat. 13 or 15 shows how the two side Buddhas are symmetrically carved, and the author herself is forced to admit a similar reason for explaining the presence of the Tārā, symmetric to Māyā, on the pedestal of the Buddha of cat. 14 (p. 139). Images were first of all carved by artists and the visual experience was not exclusively the result of dogmatic iconography but partook also of an inner plastic logic. Stylistic rules can also direct the composition of the image.

When discussing the crowned Buddha (pp. 105-6), the author alludes to the five Jinas who 'are sometimes depicted in the crown itself'. But if we know of such crowns during the 'Pāla' period, they are not worn by the Buddha but by a Bodhisattva or by Vajrasattva. However, on those examples, the crown appears as a tiara, differing thus from the crown of the Buddha. Later on, she states that 'Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī are often paired as attendants of Śākyamuni' whereas the first Bodhisattva 'and Maitreya are sometimes paired' in this position. It is evidently the contrary which is observed (Leoshko 1988, 29-44, in particularly 36-40).

How can we identify, i.e. how can we give a name to a deity illustrated some thousand years ago? The question is answered without having usually been asked, by referring to previous publications or to literary sources. Thus, the author calls systematically the Viṣṇu images 'Trivikrama' (p. 107) without taking into consideration the research made into the problem by M.-Th. de Mallmann or by ourselves (1985: 437-81, *inter alia*, 440, 476-78, with further references to the work of M.-Th. de Mallmann). Further, the reading of the inscriptions of the time proves that the god was not worshipped as Trivikrama but that the main denomination was first Vāsudeva and afterwards Nārāyaṇa (Bautze-Picron 1986: 65-81, in particularly 73-74). Besides speculation on the name 'Trivikrama', which cannot hold good when one remembers that the god was probably not called under this name, it is the list of *avatāras* which is questionable. At that period, Kṛṣṇa is not an *avatāra*, his position in the

list is held by the Buddha not mentioned by Susan L. Huntington (see *ibid.*: pl. XV c and pp. 473-74).

The wives of Sūrya who 'do not carry individualizing attributes' (p. 109) could not therefore be identified. However, the two images of cat. 20 and 40 show them carrying *cāmaras*, particularly quoted in the *Agni Purāṇa* as Rājñī and Niṣprabhā (de Mallmann 1963: 74). Nor is it clear that the goddess standing in front of the god is Uṣā; she might also be Mahāśvetā (*ibid.*: 75-76).

It would have been interesting to introduce a comparison between the Buddhist and Hindu (secondarily Jain) structure of the image and iconographies. Whereas some sites were more exclusively Buddhist, e.g. Kurkihar, Hindu and Buddhist images are usually found in the same places. And the visual experience may have been a source of renewal in certain cases. It is very probable that the image of Mārīcī occurred at Bodh Gaya in relation to the image of Sūrya and a particular understanding of the Enlightenment, and it seems also that the lion as *vāhana* of Mañjuśrī appeared in the same site with the image of Durgā above the lion for a model. It would be wrong in both cases to conclude that it was due to an 'influence'. The creation of a new iconographic form is both a visual and a spiritual experience. Another aspect of the question would be to study the similarities of iconographic forms such as Mahākālā and Bhairava, both illustrated in the catalogue, where a comparison between the images cat. 26 and 28 is evident. A series of such similarities could be established: the form of Umā-Maheśvara (cat. 18, 96 or 99) is not without having had a bearing on the elaboration of forms like the Vajrasattva and Vajradhatvīśvarī (cat. 111, 116)... It is to the credit of the authors to have introduced Hindu images in the exhibition; the connection with the Buddhist material and with the 'international legacy' is unfortunately not very clearly made. Some connections are not made, e.g. what was the figure of Gaṇeśa (cat. 21) to become in Buddhist art?

This 'international legacy' passed essentially through Buddhist icons, and one of the major Bodhisattvas at that time was without any doubt Avalokiteśvara, only present through one sculpture (cat. 33). This is also to remind us that what was inherited by large regions of the Asian world, was not basically a style but a religion, and with it, its own visual expression. Thus, a large number of iconographic forms were absorbed and, simultaneously, the stylistic treatment which underwent changes. Though we cannot isolate style from iconography — both influence each other —, it is obvious that iconography is here predominant. Thus it is possible that a slightly different presentation of the 'Pāla' artistic production, based on an iconographic classification, would have stressed the phenomenon of the legacy. Bearing in mind the general public or the reader who is not aware, or only in a limited way, of the proliferation of Hindu and Buddhist deities, who does not know about the internal stylistic chronology of the 'Pāla' school of sculpture and who has also to consider art objects produced in far-away countries where similar problems of iconography and of chronology occur, an iconographic classification, within which chronology and style hold their place, would have helped to clarify a situation which is very confused.

In the catalogue of the Indian art objects (pp. 123-94), the criterion of classification is first the medium which is used, second the chronology, based on a stylistic study. A number of remarks will be made here on various entries of the catalogue. But first of all we would like to underline the speculative nature of a number of the author's assumptions related to the dress, to the depiction of specific events of the Buddha's life, to the colours which would have been applied to the sculptures or to the relations between sculpture and architecture,

all topics already mentioned in this review, and which may be considered in the catalogue entries (e.g. the colouring of the sculptures is considered in cat. 7, 8, 33).

Cat. 6: the female attendant, also seen in *cat. 7*, holding sword and noose in the first pair of hands and the elephant skin in the second pair. Following M.-Th. de Mallmann (1975: 163) or more recently P. Pal (1988, vol. 2: cat. 73, p. 165), we think that this attendant might be Ekajātā. This goddess appears under this particular aspect in a number of early images and if textual sources have not (so far) been traced, it is also probably because this iconography was in a phase of elaboration. The author is right in drawing attention to the Acala when describing the male figure seen in *cat. 7*. Though rarely encountered, the Acala appears on at least two images dating from the 8th or early 9th century found at Telhara and Nalanda. It is also probably in Nalanda or the neighbouring region that the image of the Tārā was executed. It bears the row of *utpalas* on the edge, often seen in the 8th century on bronzes from the site, or the Tārā has the long oval-shaped ear-ring also seen on stelae from the site. A further hint is the presence of the monk devotee on the pedestal, a motif which found some favour at Nalanda in the 8th century (cf. Banerji 1933: pl. XI c; Bautze-Picron 1989: 327-49, fig. 2).

Cat. 8: Like J. Leoshko (quoted in fn. 1, p. 131), we firmly believe that this stela is the one drawn under the direction of F. Buchanan at Bodh Gaya in the winter of 1811-12, even if it includes motifs observed at Nalanda (see Huntington 1984: 101 for a possible limited influence from Nalanda at Bodh Gaya).

Cat. 9: We would rather locate the atelier responsible for this image in south Magadha (south of the Rajgir Hills); it shows e.g. the bare slabs behind the attendants, the absence of folds (see Kurkihar) or the *caityas* as they are also observed at Bodh Gaya. Suggesting that this stela might have been one of a group which 'together represented a series of life scenes of the Buddha', the author does not connect it with an image in the Avery Brundage collection which really belongs to the same group (inv. SF B67 S4, published in Catalogue 1984: no. 4).

Cat. 10: This depiction of Sūrya introduces a feature not seen in other representations of the god, i.e. the *nāgas* which are incised above each horse or carved on the side of the pedestal. A proper understanding of this motif can probably be gained: there exist various legends linking *nāgas* to the Sun-god. J.Ph. Vogel (1926: 56) tells of one of them from the *Katbasaritsāgara*; pp. 84-87, he mentions another one from the *Mahābhārata* but it is more likely that, as they are here represented, those snakes are the reins of the horses which are held by Aruṇa, as is mentioned in the *Matsya Purāṇa* (quoted by Pandey 1971: 139; see also Mani 1975: 770 for a similar position of the *nāgas* described in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*).

Cat. 13: As seen earlier, it is very likely that this sculpture was found at Tetravan, and not at Nalanda (Bautze-Picron 1989a: 261-67, particularly p. 263, no. 10). As suggested there, the stela might have belonged to a group of images depicting events of the Buddha's life, of which two other stelae are also known.

Cat. 16 and 17: These two images were most probably produced in the same area, perhaps around Kurkihar, as we have seen for the Buddha image in an earlier publication by the reviewer, which is only mentioned by S.L. Huntington in the bibliographical references to the published material but carefully avoided in fn. 1, p. 142. In the same publication, we also stressed the similarities between this image and two other ones preserved in American collections (in our paper: fig. 9 to 10), similarities which the author also underlines (fn. 3, p. 142). However, our dating of the two images of the Buddha and of the seated Tārā differs from the one presented by S.L. Huntington, too late according to us. For various reasons which would be too long

to go into here, these images seem to have been produced before the Tārā dated in the regnal year 8 of Mahendrapāla, thus around 858. The Buddha image does not yet belong to the most mature style of the atelier of Kurkihar, illustrated by the images of Mahendrapāla's reign.

Cat. 20: The origin is most probably not to be sought in Chittagong district, but in the present Rajshahi district. Other practically identical images of Sūrya have been recovered in this region (Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi, inv. F(a)3/84 or 695; Mahasthan Museum, inv. 64: the first image was recovered in the ancient Rajshahi district, the last two in the Bogra district).

Cat. 21: It is also probably from north Bengal that this dancing Gaṇeśa originates. Various representations of him, sometimes dancing on his *vāhana*, are preserved at Rajshahi (Basak & Bhattacharyya 1919: 26-27) or at Mahasthan (inv. 25.1234, 1245). The type has been particularly well studied by Enamul Haque (1973: 505-28) where a long list of such images is given, and from our own observation as well as from E. Haque's (p. 509), these are not radishes but sweet mangoes which adorn the top of the back slab! The upper left hand is held in a gesture of dance known as *gaja hasta* (*ibid.*: 524). Further, the 'archer's bow' seen in the lower left hand by S.L. Huntington (p. 146) appears to be the *sarpa* which, together with the same attributes and gestures depicted here, appears in the iconography of the dancing god in north Bengal (*ibid.*: 508 [textual sources], 524-25). The object is also much too small to be a bow (cf. the bow on the Mārīcī of cat. 12).

Cat. 23: The origin of this Jina image is mainly defined on the basis of the similar treatment of the facial features in this figure and Buddha images recovered in southeast Bangladesh. To this we can object that two of the closest Buddha images were in fact found at Kirtail in the Rajshahi district (Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi, inv. A(a)9/250 and A(a)3/249: image reproduced by Huntington 1984: fig. 232). Besides, icons are always integrated within a certain religious and cultural context and are rarely isolated. Jainism still had some strongholds as in west Bengal, where groups of stelae have been recovered. And in north Bengal also, images dating between the 10th and the 12th century have been discovered, although, unlike the situation in west Bengal, scattered mainly in the Dinajpur district (Shamsul Alam 1985: figs. 79, 80; National Museum of Bangladesh, inv. 70.893). A brief but good summary of the Jain relics in Bengal can be found in Chatterjee 1985: 356-60.

Cat. 25: Sudhanakumāra, whom the author seems to recognize only reluctantly (p. 151 and note 2, p. 152), is paired with Yamāntaka/Yamāri in the *sādhanas* 46 and 52 describing Mañjuśrī (de Mallmann 1964: 188 and 192).

Cat. 27: This rare image of Mahākālā was most probably carved at Lakhi Sarai as we have seen elsewhere (Bautze-Picron 1991-92: 260). The gem motif crowning the slab is not 'unusual' (p. 154) here, but belongs to the plastic iconography of Jambhala at Lakhi Sarai (e.g. Banerji 1933: pl. XVI c, also published as fig. 15 in our above-mentioned article on the site, where figs. 14 and 32 illustrate two further Jambhala images with *maṇi*).

Cat. 28: The author identifies the object held before the breast in the right hand as a 'bowl (*kunḍa*)' which we seriously doubt. This *kunḍa* is not integrated within the iconography of Śiva Bhairava; the literary sources mention the *kapāla* or the *mūṇḍa* (de Mallmann 1963: 267). The *kunḍa* seems rather to be in textual iconography a synonym for *kamaṇḍalu* (*ibid.*: 243). One passage of the *Agni Purāṇa* is here particularly relevant: it reads *mahākālo'simūṇḍī syāc chūlakabeṭakavāms tatbā* (*ibid.*: 66, fn. 7). Thus, this Mahākālā appears here as an assistant (who is also probably an aspect) of Śiva. This type is illustrated with different examples from Bengal (Haque 1973: 261-62), which is probably the region where the image described by

S.L. Huntington was carved. We do not know of any sculpture from Bihar, the suggested provenance given by this author, that displays any of the most peculiar motifs of this stela, such as the floral ornament crowning the slab. On the contrary, this motif is commonly met with on Śaiva images from Bengal as noted before (Bautze-Picron 1990: 61-66, in particularly pp. 64 and 66, fn. 22). Moreover, the image is very close stylistically to an image of an eight-armed Durgā from Rajshahi district preserved in the Varendra Research Museum (inv. D(c)1/133).

Cat. 29: The two triangular elements carved on either side of the nimbus are identified with 'radiant *maṇi* (gems)' (p. 155). But they appear in Bihar and in Bengal in Hindu, Jain or Buddhist art, see e.g. cat. 13, 14, 15, 33 (Buddhist images), 32, 36, 37 (Hindu images), and seem rather to be a 'filler'. Moreover, the *maṇi* is shown as a roundish element, often as a rounded trefoil in the numerous depictions of the *saptarātrṇas*, e.g. at Bodh Gaya. The author speculates hereafter on the nature of the foliate motif on the edge of the nimbus, which would indicate 'the thick, almost syrup-like light of the five primary colours of light defined in Buddhist light theory' (p. 155). The point would deserve further elaboration.

Cat. 32: Though the right hands are broken, one can still see the shape of the sword on the lotus sustaining the elephant (unnoticed by the author) and paired with this sword, the shield is held by the upper left hand. This shield is identified by S.L. Huntington as being a 'mirror' (p. 159, where she speculates on the meaning of this female attribute). The two objects are commonly met with in the Durgā iconography, held in the same position (e.g. Huntington 1984: fig. 205 or Picron 1980: 282-302, figs. 2 and 3). The mirror is a common attribute of the Lalitā Devī type (*ibid.*: figs. 8-9, 11).

Cat. 36: This image like the next one, cat. 37, illustrates the very typical iconography of Viṣṇu in north Bengal after the 10th century. Locating the origin of the stela in the Dhaka district (p. 164), the author refers to an image actually found in this region but the two images differ on major points, e.g. the length of the *upavāṇa* (short in southeast Bangladesh), the absence of the *kaustubha* on the image under consideration, the position of Garuḍa, in the middle of the pedestal on the image from Dhaka district... (see Bautze-Picron 1985: 467-76 for the two types distributed in two different regions of Bengal: north and southeast).

Cat. 38: S.L. Huntington attributes this Vajratārā to the atelier of Nalanda or its region (p. 165). But apart from the two layers of thick petals forming the lotus on which the goddess sits, most of the motifs are also observed on Buddhist images from Bengal, mainly collected in the north: Varendra Research Museum, inv. 3497 (Tārā), A(a)2/266 (Buddha), A(b)12/264 (Avalokiteśvara), A(b)10/203 or 1593 (Mañjuśrī), but also in the Birbhum district, like the Vajratārā in the Museum of the Directorate of Archaeology of West Bengal (Ghosh 1980: fig. 31) or, more rarely in southeast Bengal (southeast Bangladesh) (Varendra Research Museum, inv. A(d)2/137 (Māricī)). One should also observe that some of the 'devotees' included in the pedestal ('y') are in fact the *nāgas* often seen in this position on images of the 12th century.

Cat. 39: The god does not wear any *yogapaṭṭa*, as surmised by the author (p. 166). The ornament which falls between the legs is in fact the garland of skulls, which is also seen on the dancing Bhairava kept in the Indian Museum (Bautze-Picron 1990: figs. 1-3). As to the necklace, which would be normally seen with young gods, it also appears around the neck of the Bhairava cat. 28. The iconography of this depiction of Śiva is unique, as S.L. Huntington observes. We all know that texts and images rarely met perfectly; however, in this case, a passage of the *Rūpamaṇḍana* quoted by de Mallmann (1963: 53, fn. 6) coincides with the image: the god should have one face, he wears the garland of skulls, a tigerskin (see the incised

star-like motifs on the shawl crossing his breast), holds the trident and rosary in the right hands, the skull and the water pot in the left hands, the two remaining hands are in a meditation gesture (*trīṣūlam akṣamālā ca dakṣayoh karayor smṛtaḥ/ kapālam kuṇḍikām vāme yogamudrā-karaveyabḥ*)). Moreover, the text calls the god Mṛtyuñjaya. (It is also possible that the *upavīta* worn by the god is in fact a snake: the treatment differs from the one seen when the *upavīta* is made of pearls, cat. 40 e.g., but is identical to the thread adorning Bhairava, cat. 28, Mahākāla, cat. 26 and 27, Garuḍa, cat. 22, Gaṇeśa, cat. 21 where in certain cases, it is clear that the thread is a snake — the *Rūpamaṇḍana* gives for ornaments to the god snakes, *nāgendrabhūṣitam*).

Cat. 40: Quoting St. Kramrisch's identification of the Grahas, the author has unfortunately repeated the confusion made there between Śani and Budha (p. 167). Śani is depicted on the god's proper left, third from top, below Ketu and Rahu (and he always appears on their proper right on horizontal panels of the Grahas). He sits in a curious manner: whereas the other Grahas sit with folded legs, he sits on his left ankle and has the right leg placed across the left one. This peculiar way of sitting should remind us that the god was limping and, in a standing position, his right leg is usually bent. Moreover, the 'mace' which he is said to hold is in fact the staff called *kīrkiṇī* in the *Agni Purāṇa* and which is similar to the *kbakkhara* of the Buddhist monks. As to the Graha on the god's proper right who carries bow and arrow, it is of course the planet Mercury or Budha (see Mitra 1965: 13-37; Bhattacharya 1986a: 45-51).

Cat. 57: The authors identify the depiction of the reclining Buddha as a depiction of a 'pre-parinirvāṇa' event (pp. 184 and 185, fn. 10), mainly on the basis of their interpretation of the figure seen above the Buddha's couch. They see him as a 'smiling devotee [...] [who] seems to hover [...] joyfully'. It could, however, just as well be a lamenting figure: the particular position of his right hand, towards the face, appears with variations on the *Parinirvāṇa* depictions, shown by the monks surrounding the Buddha (compare cat. 62: the figures below the bed). As for the cushion below the Buddha's head, it is a common feature in sculpture (e.g. Banerji 1933: pls. XIV d, XXXI c-d and a very beautiful example from Tetravan, Chanda 1936: pl. XIII).

Cat. 59: The presence of the Hindu gods at the side of the Buddha (p. 190) reminds us very much of the group of gods introduced in the same depiction of the *Trāyastriṃśa* scene on the large Jagdispur image. Five gods are carved there: Sūrya and Brahmā on the Buddha's proper left, Indra, Viṣṇu and Śiva on his proper right. Hindu gods are also introduced in the depiction of the main Buddha of the Jagdispur stela, others are seen at the Birth scene. This image, located not far away from the archaeological site of Nalanda, is very large and must have been an important object of worship. It is possible, but this still requires further study, that it influenced to some extent the emergence of images similar to the painting from the Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

Cat. 60: Earlier evidence that the Ngor cycle mentioned by the authors (p. 192) of the Jinas as they are here depicted, is to be found in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, *maṇḍala* 2 or in the *Piṇḍīkrama-sādhana*. The Jinas are there described with three faces and six arms (no 'fourth is implied at the rear' thus). The manuscript, as the authors point out, is today split up amongst at least three collections, and only three Jinas are seen on the leaves presented here. No information is given on the subjects painted on the other folios. However, it is possible that a fourth Jina is depicted on one of the pages preserved in the Asia Society (Pal & Meech-Pekarik 1988: fig. 21, top. See de Mallmann 1975: 43-44, 100 [Amoghasiddhi with three faces and six arms, perhaps depicted on the New York folio?], 94-95 [Amitābha], 321 [Ratnasambhava], 394 [Vairocana] and 92 [Akṣobhya]).

Cat. 62: The 'Aparājita' who is identified by the author (p. 221) in the lower right corner of the pedestal is in fact the defeated Māra as we know him from various Indian examples. While describing cat. 61, which belongs to the same category of objects, the author speculates, p. 218, on the existence in 'Pāla' art of four post-Enlightenment events which would have been favoured; this is based on one single image from Nalanda but other stelae from the site or from the region, which illustrate the same iconography of the Eight great events, together with secondary depictions of the Buddha, show those secondary depictions with a great variety, which prevents us from qualifying them as one of four major post-Enlightenment events (one unpublished image at Ghosrajan shows only two Buddha images below the main one; another stela preserved at the Museum für Indische Kunst Berlin shows one Buddha image between two Bodhisattvas...). Among the jewels of the *saptaratna*, the central figure identified tentatively as the 'perfect general (?)' (p. 219), is in fact Jambhala, as we know from numerous examples from Bihar or Bengal. Another wrong assessment is made concerning the 'two *śāla* trees in the parinirvāṇa scene [... which are...] also a characteristically Myanmar and not Pāla feature' (pp. 221-22), but the reader can refer to the various depictions of the *Parinirvāṇa* mentioned above (in relation with the remarks made on the dress of the Buddha) in order to see that those trees are common in the art of Bihar.

Cat. 71: We learn here, p. 228 and p. 229, fn. 1, as under cat. 131, p. 363 (and fn. 3 there), that Jambhala has for an attribute in the right hand the *cintāmaṇi*, which scholars, including the reviewer, have repeatedly mistaken for the 'citron', but how are we to explain that the Buddhists themselves mentioned in the *sādhana*s the *bhāṇapūra* or the *mātulūṅga*, which is the fruit and in no case the 'wish-granting gem' (de Mallmann 1975: 195-96)?

Cat. 108: Describing this painting, J.C. Huntington does not observe the dark female figure kneeling behind the left leg of the Tārā. Holding the knife and the *kapāla*, she is most probably Ekajaṭā and, as such, she has been recently identified by Rhie & Thurman 1991: 128-32, cat. 24. It is difficult to identify the second deity on the proper left of the Tārā; she might indeed be Māyūrī as proposed by Rhie & Thurman. It is also clear that the goddess identified with Ekajaṭā, on the proper right of the Tārā, is in fact Aśokakantā holding a *vajra* in the right hand and the branch of *aśoka* in the left (although the red colour of the *aśoka* flower is not to be recognized). Another iconographic aspect of this painting has been completely misunderstood by J. Huntington, who recognizes in the five six-armed figures of the lower row 'images of Mañjuśrī' (p. 319). On the contrary, M.M. Rhie and R.A.F. Thurman see female figures there (p. 132). The central figure bears an *utpala* and a bow, clearly recognizable on the proper left side, and the sword above the head held by one right hand; the second attribute is white (the bow is red) and seems symmetric to the bow, although not having the same shape, it is the arrow which should be straight. As for the two remaining hands, they are crossed in front of the breast. This gesture is also retained by the four accompanying deities. The closer and clearer examples of an identical iconography are the Mañjuvajra Mañjuśrī images in the Metropolitan Museum and the Nalin collection (mentioned above); the sculptures help to recognize the arrow, not held vertically but horizontally and partly hidden by the body of the Bodhisattva. The same Bodhisattva reappears in the same position below a representation of Amitābha, in a private collection in Zurich, where the arrow is still traceable. But if the central figure is Mañjuśrī, the four accompanying deities are probably not. The distinction is clearer on the Zurich painting, where the four female deities wear a blouse whereas the upper part of Mañjuśrī's body is naked on the one hand, and where the skirt of the goddesses is plain while Mañjuśrī's skirt is adorned with strips of various colours on the other hand (the

same is observed on the painting from Musée Guimet, cat. 111 in the catalogue under review, where Vajradhātviśvarī has a plain short skirt and Vajrasattva a short skirt adorned with parallel strips of different colours).

This iconographic program, i.e. a male deity surrounded by four female attendants who appear as copies of the Bodhisattva, is observed on the stela of the Norton Simon Museum (Leoshko 1988a: fig. 17), only they do not include the pair of hands in front of the breast, but above each of them is carved a tiny representation of a Buddha, i.e. of a Jina or Tathāgata. This element is of primary importance since it allows a precise identification of the four goddesses: Locanā below Vairocana (lower left corner for the spectator; = east and southeast); Māmākī below Ratnasambhava (upper left corner; = south and southwest); Pāṇḍarā below Amitābha (upper right corner; = west and northwest); Tārā below Amoghasiddhi (lower right corner; = north and northeast). The fifth Jina, Akṣobhya, is depicted above the reduced depiction of the god crowning the slab. The central image holds in the left hands the sword, the *ratna* and the *vajraghaṇṭā* (in the main hand), and in the right hands the *padma* and the *vajra* (in the main hand), but whereas the third hand is there broken away, it most certainly held the *cakra*: these six attributes as well as their distribution and the particular position of the two hands in front of the breast are described in the *maṇḍala* 2 of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* or in the *Pinḍīkramasādhana* (de Mallmann 1975: 92) as elements of the iconography of the black Akṣobhya.

A major difference between the descriptions of the Jinas in the first two *maṇḍalas* of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* lies with the position of the sword. In the *maṇḍala* 1, i.e. the *Mañjuvajramanḍala*, the Jinas hold their sword in the upper right hand, while in the *maṇḍala* 2 of the black Akṣobhya, they hold it in the upper left hand. This position is also retained in the depiction of their respective Prajñās as we see on the image in the Norton Simon Museum (cf. the depiction of the Jinas on the two stelae in the Nalin collection or in the Metropolitan Museum, where the sword is held by a right hand and cf. an early Tibetan painting where the five Jinas hold the sword in the upper right hand also: Pal 1984: pl. 8; they are easily recognizable, from left to right, as Ratnasambhava, Akṣobhya, Vairocana, Amitābha and Amoghasiddhi). The same *maṇḍala* 1 describes the Prajñās as being similar to their respective Jinas, they should thus have the sword in the upper right hand (de Mallmann 1964: 72-73 and 218). Looking back at the Zurich painting, we see that the six-handed and three-faced goddesses not only have the sword in the upper right hand, but have the colours of four of the five Jinas. We propose to identify them as, from left to right, Locanā (white; similar to Vairocana or Mañjuḥṣa who have a pale complexion in the *maṇḍala* 21 (also devoted to Mañjuḥṣa as Dhamadhātu Vagīśvara, see *ibid.*: 82), Māmākī (dark; similar to Akṣobhya) on the proper right of Mañjuśrī, Pāṇḍarā (red; similar to Amitābha) and the Tārā (green; similar to Amoghasiddhi). And to return to the painting in the Ford collection, where the details do not appear so clearly as on the Zurich painting, it appears clearer now that the four deities around Mañjuśrī are also those Prajñās, identifiable as Locanā and Māmākī on the proper right of the Bodhisattva and as the Tārā and Pāṇḍarā on his proper left (the last two having exchanged their places when compared with the Zurich painting).

The Ford painting belongs thus to the same iconographic phase illustrated by the Norton Simon image, a further link with the Indian context which has not been noted by J.C. Huntington. This link can also be traced in the iconography of Mahāśrī Tārā which illustrates the Tārā displaying the gesture of teaching. Images are observed in the 12th century in India although the author refers to the Indian Museum stela illustrating this iconography (p. 384

and fn. 1) as the 'only (one) found in India'. We would like to mention here only the stela from Antichak (*Indian Archaeology* 1974-75: pl. VI A) or another one recently published (Sotheby's New York, 6.10.1990, no. 265), besides smaller bronze images discovered in Bihar. The author does not clearly make the difference between the Mahāśrī Tārā type and the Aṣṭamahābhāyā Tārā type (e.g. when referring to the Indian Museum image quoted here above, the author calls her 'Aṣṭamahābhāyā') (cat. 150, p. 383-84) although they are, at least in India, very distinct.

A number of other remarks could be introduced about other entries in the catalogue. But we would also underline the presence of drawing in the descriptions of numerous Tibetan paintings, making the identification of the deities very easy. This way should be adopted by those who publish this type of material but who generally care little for a precise identification of the (numerous) deities included in the painting. The relation of 'Pāla' art with non-Indian arts has still to be worked out: this catalogue, as the reader can see from our observations, has drawn attention to this manifold relation. But the religious and iconographic history of 'Pāla' art has still to be written, and this would give a stronger basis for further studies with non-'Pāla' schools of art.

We cannot therefore but regret that the catalogue, at least in the reviewed part, includes a number of errors. It would probably have benefited from the consultation of specialists in some of the areas concerned. Though the subject is limited, it introduces very different cultures which developed in various countries and it shows objects belonging to a wide span of time, and which are often not contemporary. And as we could amply see, the encyclopaedic vision of this work hides reduced developments which are of major importance for the subject considered. Now, we cannot blame the authors for this vision, which is too well spread in the study of the arts of India or Southeast Asia. But the amount of material available to us is so large that it remains illusory to think that one can handle it with an equal knowledge. It appears also, and this from some other publications too, some of them lavishly produced, that this 'encyclopaedic' trend is too widespread inasmuch as it leads the way to general assessments that have not backed by sound preliminary research ⁽²⁾.

(2) We had the opportunity to discuss some aspects of this work with colleagues from USA or England, whom we would like to thank here. Further, we consulted Prof. Klaus Bruhn and Dr Gouriswar Bhattacharya for the Sanskrit terminology used in the catalogue. I wish to thank them also, emphasizing that this review expresses only the opinion of its author.

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Kirāta in the Later Mediaeval Art of Tamilnadu

by M. NAGARAJAN

Kirāta in Indian art is a subject which remains to be explored deeply. There are few works on the subject (Ramachandran 1950-51; Rao 1979; Kalidos 1988: *passim*; Kandan 1991), each important in its own way but the magnitude of Kirāta in art still remains unexplored. There is a carved wood image in a Madurai Museum whose identification has baffled art historians. The Madurai Museum is the one located in the *Āyirāṅkāl-maṇḍapam* 'thousand-pillared pavilion' of the Mīṇākṣī-Sundarēśvara temple ⁽¹⁾.

The *Āyirāṅkāl-maṇḍapam* of the Madurai temple is noted for its iconographical setting. The additional point is that it houses a number of stray sculptures, collected during the past two decades, made of stone, wood and bronze. All of them are characteristic of the Pāṇḍināḍu style. Their uniqueness has so far remained unexposed. This article is concerned with a carved wood panel (2 x 3 feet) which illustrates a hunting scene (Fig. 1) ⁽²⁾.

The main character is *caturbhuja*, holding a long pole in his back right hand with an animal fitted atop and resting on his shoulder. The back left hand holds something enigmatic which a dog catches as though devouring it ⁽³⁾. The front right hand holds a horn ⁽⁴⁾. The front left hand holds a drum (*ḍamaru* or *kapāla*?). Being four-handed, the image could not but be an aspect of a God. He is in walking posture as though marching from the forest after a successful hunting expedition. He is accompanied by four hounds and two assistants, one of whom on his left side is seen blowing a horn to announce the advent of the Lord Hunter. The Lord is decorated with a head-gear of folk type, called *urumāl* in Tamil ⁽⁵⁾. It is a piece of cloth wound around the head and twisted. It is beautified with feathers and further ornamented with pearls. On the forehead there is a mark which appears to be the transformed mole of the third eye, the *trīṭhyānetra*. The Lord has a bold moustache and wears a short loin garment which consists of several folds. It seems that it is made of hides. Among the ornaments

⁽¹⁾ This Museum, which is the most important one at Madurai, houses a number of bronzes and wood carvings, collected from various parts of the district. Among them is a rare form of Bhairava, Natarāja of the Pāṇḍināḍu style, lifting the right leg, and so on.

⁽²⁾ The author's interest in the wood carving is also due to the fact that he is at present engaged in a survey of the *tērs* (Kalidos 1984: 153-54) of the Pāṇḍya country with special reference to regional *purāṇas*.

⁽³⁾ This particular idiom is akin to the antelope, associated with Bhikṣātana.

⁽⁴⁾ The musical instrument is called *kompū* in Tamil

⁽⁵⁾ Countrymen wearing such a type of headgear are often met with even now.

are necklaces, *kañkaṇas*, *keyūras*, *yajñopavīta* ⁽⁶⁾, *nāga-udarabandha*, and so on. All these ornaments seem to be inlaid with pearls for which the Pāṇḍya country was very famous. Above the main figures, there are two flying women who bear garlands in their hands, wear saris and have their head-gear arranged in a pattern that one usually comes across in case of the Christian Cherubs ⁽⁷⁾. They represent the *apsarases*.

Now, the question arises whether it could be a representation of an ordinary human being ⁽⁸⁾. This is not possible because there are several subtle elements which purport to associate the hero with a divine person. Two important points are the presence of semi-divine attendants like the *apsarases* and the *caturbhūja* aspect of the main figure. The *trīṭyaṇetra*, *nāga-udarabandha* and the loincloth made of hides would aver the fact that the hero of the panel is none but Lord Śiva. The four dogs accompanying the Lord symbolize the *Caturvedas*. Śiva appearing as a hunter is known as 'Kirāta'. Thus, the problem pertaining to identification may be settled, but how are we to explain the thematic input?

Kirāta in South India is a subject popular in Cālukya and Pallava art. No less than half a dozen specimens have been listed from among them (Kalidos 1988: 359-60; Kandan 1991: pls. I-IV). The open air *bas-relief* illustrating Pāśupatāstramūrti (Ramachandran 1950-51) is a classical treatment of the subject. The other pieces are found in the cave temple at Viḷṇam (Sarkar 1973: 18-23) and Paṭṭadakkaḷ. In later mediaeval Indian art Kirāta is a coveted subject (Rao 1979: plates). These illustrations appear in stone, wood and paintings. All of them illustrate the duel between Śiva and Arjuna or Śiva as Pāśupatāstramūrti wherein the wild boar finds a place. The uniqueness of the Madurai Museum image is that it illustrates neither hunting nor duel. This is the crux of the problem which receives our attention and baffles identification.

From a study of Kirāta in early mediaeval art, it has been found that there are four thematic sub-variables (Kandan 1991). They are: (1) Arjuna's Penance, (2) Hunting a wild boar, (3) Fight between Śiva and Arjuna, and (4) Śiva as Pāśupatāstramūrti. Most of the illustrations appearing in Rao's (1979) work, nearly 100 photographs, fall within this group. The Madurai Museum image is the only one of its type which deviates from the conventional mode of portrayal and gives shape to a new form of Kirāta. In doing so the artist gives a regional appeal to the subject, including several sub-regional elements, peculiar to the Pāṇḍya country such as the pearls on decorative motifs. Perhaps the theme has its roots in a regional variation of the *Kirātārjunīyam* myth.

⁽⁶⁾ The association of *yajñopavīta* with a hunter is very odd indeed because the hunters called *pārāśava*, *nisāda*, *svapaka*, *ugra*, *pukkasa* and *pulinda* are *caṇḍālas* according to *dharmasāstras* and unfit to wear the sacred thread (Kalidos 1984a: 373-87). We may note here that Śiva as a hunter is said to have met the *advaita* philosopher, Ādi Śaṅkara, who was a *brāhmana* by birth and treated (to begin with) *caṇḍālas* as untouchable and unapproachable people. Śiva is said to have appeared as a hunter in front of him and given advice not to discriminate devotees on the basis of their birth status.

⁽⁷⁾ This is to point out Christian influence on Hindu Art. For details, see Kalidos 1986 77-85.

⁽⁸⁾ Some (Prof. R. Veerasamy, Department of Tamil, Tamil University) suggested that the image may pertain to *pārvīṭṭai* 'hunting (four-legged) animals', an event connected with local festivals in the Madurai circle. Śiva is also said to have undertaken such a hunt and killed wild pigs according to the *Tiruvilāyāḍalpurāṇam*. But the image could not relate to a hunt of pigs because the animal that he carries on shoulder is more like an antelope than a pig (*infra*, fn. 11).

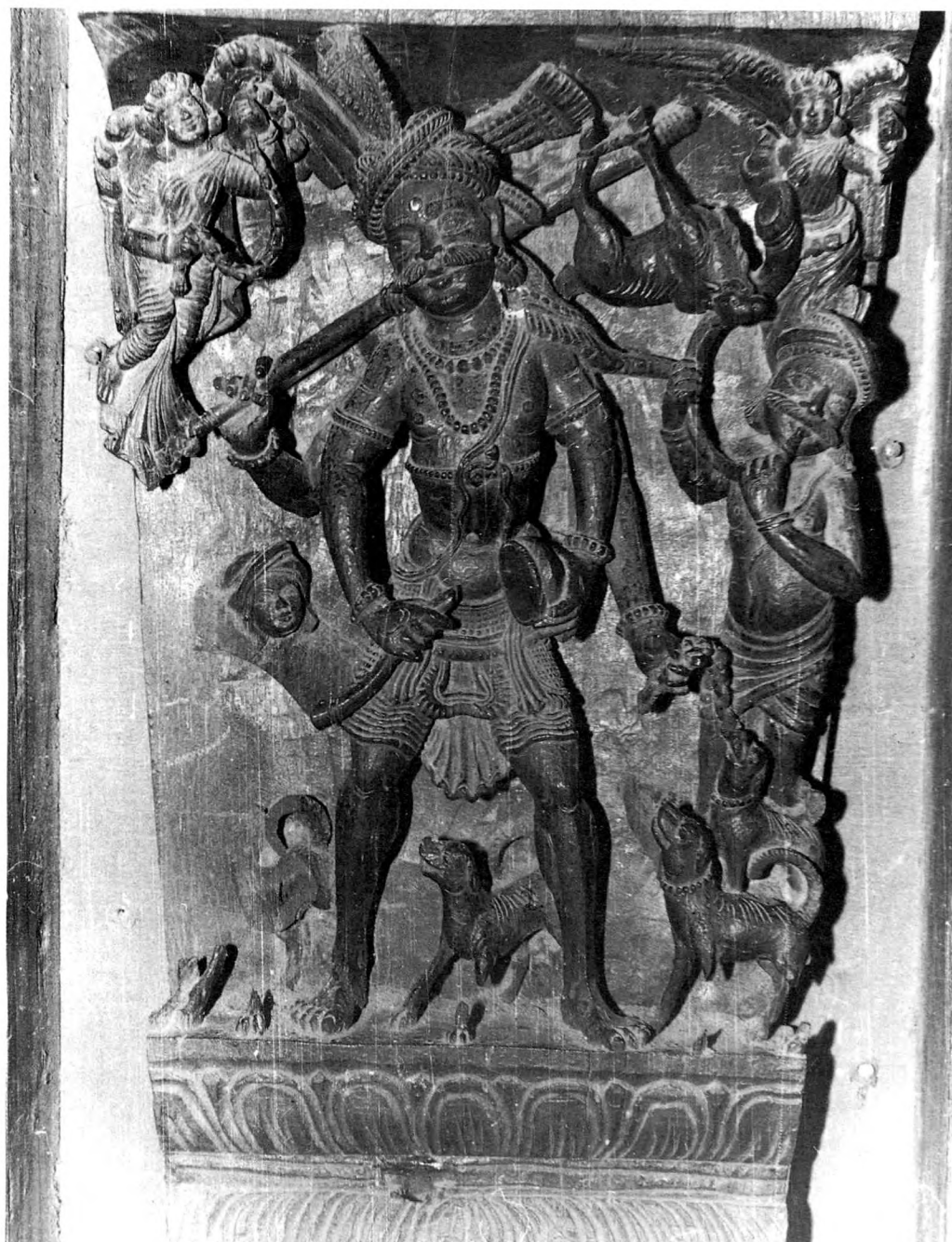


Fig. 1 - Kirāta, Madurai Museum (Mīṇākṣī-Sundaresvara Temple).



Fig. 2 - Kirāta, Kōṇērājapuram Temple.

Kirātārjunīyam first appears in the *Āraṇya* or *Vana-parvam* of the *Mahābhārata* (Ramachandran 1950-51; Rao 1979). During the early mediaeval period Bhāravi gave a classical shape to the myth in his work, *Kirātārjunīyam*. A Tamil form of the *Mahābhārata* was produced during the later mediaeval period by the poet Villiputtūrār (14th century A.D.), named *Bhāratam* and popularly known as *Villiputtūrār-Bhāratam*. This book deals with the first ten *parvams* from out of the original eighteen in 4,351 verses. Based on this text, later in the 18th century A.D. a book called *Mahābhārataccurukkam* (Zist of *Mahābhārata*) was written by one Kaccilaiyār of Kāñcīpuram (Jegannathacharya 1985). According to this version of the Kirāta myth, Arjuna is said to have conducted a strenuous *tapas* 'penance' to obtain the *pāśupatāstra* from Śiva. The matter was reported to Śiva by *ṛṣis*, inhabiting the forest, and the maids of Umā. On hearing the reports, Śiva disguised himself as a *kirāta* 'hunter' and marched to the forest, accompanied by his wife and *gaṇas*. The Lord is said to have decorated himself with ornaments

befitting a hunter and head-gear consisting of plumage and feathers (?). It is perhaps this incident of the march of Kirāta that the carved wood panel in the Madurai Museum represents.

The panel under review not only adds a new variable to the *Kirātārjunīyam* theme but also points out the new dimensions that the subject was acquiring. In iconographical modelling the form of Kirāta under study imitates Bhikṣātana (gazelle = dog) and Kaṅkālamūrti (*kaṅkāladanḍa* 'pole fitted with an animal')⁽¹⁰⁾. It seems that this theme was popular during the 18th-19th centuries A.D. in Tamilnadu. A painting of the same type is reported in the Kōṇērīrājapuram (Thaṅjāvūr District) temple (Fig. 2)⁽¹¹⁾. Further studies may bring to light other hidden specimens of the same subject.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am indebted to my Professor, Dr Raju Kalidos, Chairman, Department of Sculpture, Tamil University, Thanjavur, for revising the article. Our photographic assistant Mr V.N. Sonder brought the image in the Madurai Museum to my attention.

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(?) These decorative aspects are emphasized in the Tamil myth because later, while narrating the duel between Śiva and Arjuna, it is stated that the arrow sent by Arjuna struck Śiva's head-gear and dislodged both the Gaṅgā and the Crescent. It is stated that the feathers were cast into the sky and that Śiva was shaken rudely. Umā and the *ganas* were upset and afraid of Śiva's plight.

(10) I am thankful to my colleague, *Selvan* R.K.K. Rajarajan for inserting this note.

(11) The core temple here is of early Cōla origin (9th century A.D.), but the *maṇḍapas* were added during the Nāyaka period. The painting is found in a *maṇḍapa*, just in front of the *gopura*. My thanks are due to Prof. Raju Kalidos for this piece of information and the photograph. The Kōṇērīrājapuram painting (life-size) clearly shows the antelope carried by the Lord who is accompanied by hounds, a number of attendants, one blowing the horn, one sounding a leather instrument (called *perai* in Tamil) and Umā who carries a pot of milk (or toddy?) on her head. The two boys accompanying Umā are likely to be Gaṇapati and Murukan (i.e., Skanda). Note the Lord's head-gear and the ornaments, typical of hunters. He also has a *maṇḍaka* hanging from the shoulder.

Alberto De' Stefani and Sino-Italian Relations Just Before the Second World War

by GUIDO SAMARANI

Biographical and Political Profile

Alberto De' Stefani (hereafter ADS) was born in Verona on 6th October 1879, and died in Rome in 1969; his intellectual background comes from the area including Verona, Vicenza, Padua and Venice, under the influence of some of the most important figures in economics of his time (Angelo Messedaglia, Luigi Luzzatti, Francesco Ferrara, Giuseppe Toniolo, etc.). After graduating and taking a study trip to England and Germany, he started teaching at the Universities of Venice, Padua and Ferrara; in 1925, he was called to the University of Rome to teach political economics and finance and, later on, to direct the new Faculty of Political Science. During those years the influence of Pantaleoni and Pareto ⁽¹⁾ on ADS was at its height, in the sense of its profound revision — in contrast with more orthodox liberal theory — of the role of the State within the economic field and in particular of its central position as 'a new productive factor'. It is in those same years that he fully became — as has been written — '[...] a leading figure of the NPF (National Fascist Party) in his capacity of official economist of the Party', though there is no doubt that De' Stefani's prescriptions showed strong traces — as Toniolo and Lanaro emphasized — of his being a 'man of liberal principles', whose ultra-laissez-faire production theories are as far as could be from 'national' corporatism and statism ⁽²⁾.

In 1922 he became Minister of Finance and, later, he was at the head of the new unified Ministry of Finance and Treasury, where he remained until the spring of 1925, when he was forced to resign. By then, indeed, the criticism of the entrepreneurial milieu against the Minister — they complained about his excessive financial rigour and his strenuous opposition to State policies supporting various monopolies and interest groups — had become stifling and gave

(*) This article has been produced in the ambit of the research on Chinese politics and economy between the two World wars directed by the author (on the grant of the Italian Ministry for the University and Scientific and Technological Research, 6096).

⁽¹⁾ Maffeo Pantaleoni (1857-1924), economist, and Vilfredo Pareto (1848-1923), economist and sociologist. See *Enciclopedia Italiana di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, Roma 1949, vol. XXVI, pp. 206-8 and 326-28 (hereafter *EISLA*).

⁽²⁾ See F. Marcoaldi, *Vent'anni di economia e politica. Le Carte De' Stefani (1922-1941)*, Milano 1986, p. 18 (hereafter *Vent'anni*), G. Toniolo, *L'economia dell'Italia fascista*, Bari 1980, p. 44; S. Lanaro, *L'Italia nuova. Identità e sviluppo 1861-1988*, Torino 1988, p. 104.

way to a situation which was more and more unbearable. Moreover, such a situation was made even more tense by the way the relationship between ADS and Mussolini had negatively evolved, becoming particularly difficult after Matteotti's assassination ⁽³⁾. In that occasion, De' Stefani had submitted his resignation (later withdrawn) in protest: such a position — as Marcoaldi emphasizes — 'was not meant to preserve democracy in itself; if anything, he was [...] in favour of a "limited" and "controlled" democracy in which it was necessary to assure ample openness to free criticism as a factor guaranteeing cohesion and reinforcing State unity' ⁽⁴⁾. During the same period, he represented Italy at the London (1924) and Paris (1925) Conferences on the Dawes Plan ⁽⁵⁾.

After leaving his government appointment, he combined his intense university and scholarly activity with his commitment to the field of rural economic policy, and in particular to swamp drainage and irrigations projects. As the years went by, however, his reasons for being unsatisfied with the regime did not seem to lessen; furthermore, his positions nourished growing suspicion of philo-Semitism and Anglophilia. In 1932, he went back to the Gran Consiglio (made up of the leaders of Fascism), not without strong opposition; in 1935, he declared his support for the Laval-Hoare Plan for the solution of the war in Ethiopia ⁽⁶⁾, while his opposition to Rome's racial policy became firmer and firmer. It was in precisely such a situation that, towards the end of 1936 and the beginning of 1937, the hypothesis of a mission to China took shape, about which De' Stefani has left ample evidence ⁽⁷⁾.

ADS's Mission to China

Alberto De' Stefani was invited towards the end of 1936 by China's National Government — on Hjalmar Schacht's advice ⁽⁸⁾ — to go to China on a mission as High Adviser, with particular reference to the reforming and restructuring of the administrative, economic and financial apparatus. The mission was to have lasted all of 1937; it actually started in March and ended the same summer, after the 'Marco Polo Bridge Incident' (Lugouqiao) and the consequent beginning of the war of Japanese aggression against China. In September, ADS

⁽³⁾ The murder, on 10th June 1924, of Giacomo Matteotti, one of the most important anti-fascist leaders.

⁽⁴⁾ See *Venti'anni*, pp. 20-21.

⁽⁵⁾ The Dawes Plan, whose main objective was the solution of the problem of the war reparations with special reference to Germany. See *EISLA*, vol. XII, p. 421 and vol. XXIX, p. 392.

⁽⁶⁾ Plan formulated by Pierre Laval, under-secretary for foreign affairs in 1925 in the French government, and Sir Reginald Hoare, diplomatic, who served, between others, at Rome, Peking, Warsaw and Cairo. See *EISLA*, vol. XX, p. 639 and *Who's Who 1950*, London 1950, p. 1325 (hereafter *WW 1950*).

⁽⁷⁾ For more data regarding De' Stefani's biographical and political profile, see *EISLA*, vol. XII, p. 687; R. De Felice, *Mussolini il fascista. La conquista del potere 1921-1925*, Torino 1966, particularly the chapter 'Prime esperienze di governo'. Hereafter, we will quote De' Stefani's documents, letters and notes as ADS followed by the indications of the 'pratica' (pr. . that is the number of the document) and of the 'pagine' (pp., that is the pages of the document).

⁽⁸⁾ Hjalmar Schacht, President of the Reichs Bank under Dawes Plan 1924-1930, reappointed in 1933; Reichsminister of Economics 1934-37. See *WW 1950*, p. 2486.

left the country to go back to Italy, where he arrived in October, after a long voyage. In recognition for his services, the Chinese Government bestowed upon him the *Distinguished Blue Cloud Decoration*, the highest honour to be given to a foreign statesman. The start of ADS's contacts with China must be traced back to some years earlier, when a young attaché from the Chinese Embassy in Rome, Xue Guangqian, had enrolled at the University of Rome to get a degree at the Faculty of Political Science. He soon became a pupil of De' Stefani's, who tutored the preparation of his graduation thesis. In September 1935, when General Jiang Baili (Jiang Fangzhen), sent by Jiang Jieshi, visited Rome during a study mission meant to collect data and elements useful for planning a political, economic and social 'modernization' of China, young Dr Xue pointed out to the general De' Stefani and his appreciable specific competence in political economics and finance. In this way, the basis was established for the future mission, during which ADS availed himself of the precious help both of Jiang Baili and Xue Guangqian.

Before reaching Nanjing, the capital — and the special office at his disposal set up by Chinese authorities —, ADS was able to visit several provinces and towns, and met various governors, mayors, generals and representatives of the industrial and commercial classes, as well as those from universities and social and cultural associations. During such meetings, he gave several lectures, with topics focusing on national reconstruction and unification. After reaching Nanjing, during the months that he spent there, he met with members of the government and army as well as with economic and financial experts in order to outline and define a series of nation-wide projects involving, in particular, a reform of the economic and financial system.

In June 1937, he went to Lushan (in today's Jiangxi province) — where Jiang Jieshi's summer headquarters were — upon request of the Chinese leader himself: such a meeting, probably, had been delayed by disconcerting events at the end of 1936 (the Xi'an Incident), which had forced Jiang to spend a quite long period resting and meditating. In Lushan, ADS explained a series of proposals and plans worked out during the previous months, which involved, among other things, a reform of the tax system (property tax, income tax, etc.) and the passing of a Law on National Mobilization.

After the beginning of the Japanese attack, De' Stefani was sent to Shanghai to work, together with Song Ziwen, on defining a plan for stabilizing the national currency and public finance. He remained there until the middle of August, when the war caused a new front to open in that area; from Shanghai, via Hong Kong, ADS went back to Italy, accompanied by Jiang Baili — as a personal representative of Jiang Jieshi in Rome — and by Dr Xue, as his counsellor (?).

ADS and the Changes in Italian Foreign Policy in the Far East

There is no doubt that between the end of 1936 and the beginning of the following year — when De' Stefani was getting ready to undertake his new tasks in China — Italy's attitude towards the Chinese government was still for the most part sympathizing and attentive. One sign of this, among other things, is a series of letters, notes and remarks by De' Stefani, which

(?) See ADS, pr. 16/10, pp. 708-10

can be dated between October and December 1936, concerning, in particular, his talks with 'His Excellency the Head of the Government' (Mussolini) and 'His Excellency Ciano' (the Minister for Foreign Affairs) ⁽¹⁰⁾. As for the results of the talk with Mussolini — dated 12th December 1936, 4:30 p.m. — De' Stefani pointed out the need, stressed by the Duce, to 'favour reconciliation between China and Japan, with which we have kept good relations for tactical reasons', and emphasized the interest of the Head of the Government in 'establishing an organized and independent Chinese State, which would be a great political and military force in the Far East' ⁽¹¹⁾.

A positive trend, then, which seems to be confirmed by the audience granted to ADS — probably during the morning of that same 12th December — by Galeazzo Ciano:

During the audience granted to me today by H.E. Ciano, he reiterated the opportuneness of Italy's having good relations with Japan, denying, however, that the State of Man-Chiu-Kuo (Manzhouguo) could have been recognized or that there could be any intention of doing so either by right or de facto. ⁽¹²⁾

Actually, if the formal assurances given to De' Stefani appear on the one hand to be in agreement with the official Italian attitude towards the Far-Eastern question at the time, on the other hand some signs and trends going in the opposite direction were emerging in Rome's foreign policy which appear to be very alarming for the future of Italian-Chinese relations.

Many have pointed out, for example, that already between 1935 and 1936 some symptoms had become evident (growing sympathy of the Japanese military milieu for the Italian cause with an anti-British function, Tokyo's willingness to supply Italy with coal and gas, etc.) which indicated a change in bilateral relations. However, it seems certain that the Italian aggression against Ethiopia in 1935 and the subsequent (May 1936) proclamation of the Empire were the beginning of a shift in Rome's 'colonial policy', with unavoidable consequences on the attitude towards the Far East. In this sense, the signing on 25th November 1936 of the Anti-Komintern Pact between Germany and Japan — which, however, had been preceded by the birth of the 'Rome-Berlin Axis' a few weeks earlier — has been considered as a fundamental step in the process of consolidating the relationship between Tokyo and Rome, which culminated in November 1937 with the Italian adherence to the Pact and which was followed, the next month, by the exit of Italy from the League of Nations (Germany and Japan had already left that organisation in 1933) ⁽¹³⁾.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Galeazzo Ciano became Minister for Foreign Affairs on June 1936; his nomination, followed by that of Giuseppe Bastianini as his collaborator, was seen as an important stage of the process of realizing stronger relations between Rome and Berlin. See *Storia d'Italia. Vol. 4. Dall'Unità a oggi*, a cura di E. Ragionieri, Torino 1976, particularly pp. 2252-53; R. De Felice, *Mussolini il Duce I Gli anni del consenso 1929-1936*, Torino 1974, particularly pp. 804-7.

⁽¹¹⁾ See ADS, pr 16, pp. 117-18.

⁽¹²⁾ See ADS, pr. 16/2, p. 116.

⁽¹³⁾ See, among others, G. Borsa, 'Tentativi di penetrazione dell'Italia fascista in Cina 1932-1937', *Il Politico*, settembre 1979, p. 381 ff.; F. Gatti, *Il fascismo giapponese*, Milano 1983, particularly pp. 108-9; M.R. Godley, 'Fascismo italiano e nazionalismo cinese: 1931-1938. Note preliminari allo

Thus, when ADS left Italy to go to China at the beginning of March 1937, Rome's benevolent attitude towards Nanjing appeared to have already deteriorated through concrete trends and actions, even though these were not yet backed up by official positions taken on a political or diplomatic level. On the whole, De' Stefani's mission was going to be heavily characterized and influenced by this underlying ambiguity: on the one hand, the political nature of the mission itself, re-affirmed more than once during talks with top Italian authorities and later confirmed by his taking on the task for Jiang Jieshi of bringing Mussolini the invitation to act as a mediator in the conflict; on the other hand, the gradual but firm change in the general trends of Italian foreign policy in the Far East which was to take place, without ADS's knowing about it and against his convictions, right during his stay in China.

In this regard, this is how he remembers his farewell meeting, on 2nd March 1937, with Mussolini, in his 'Historical Diary of the Mission in China':

The High Adviser visits H.E. the Head of the Government, who gives him the following instructions:

- 1) favour an agreement between China and Japan and work to promote Chinese autonomy from British influence;
- 2) get the Chinese to adopt a program of organizing the People within the State and developing institutions similar to ours which will presumably find suitable terrain in China [...];
- 3) send information and reports personally to the Duce. The Duce reconfirmed the political nature of being a High Adviser and assured his support, for whatever might be necessary. ⁽¹⁴⁾

ADS interpreted such instructions as supporting the philo-Chinese policy which had been carried on up until then, and with which he certainly identified himself, all the more so after his Chinese experience. His way of thinking and his spirit can be characterized in the content of the message accompanying the Duce's letter to Jiang Jieshi, which he delivered to him on 30th March 1937, during the first meeting with the Chinese leader:

Generalissimo.

In this letter addressed to Your Excellency I bring the word of my Chief. He has allowed me to put myself at the disposal of China and of Your Excellency.

The unity of the Chinese people, the power of the Chinese State and its prosperity are part of our political conception. We have here no other ambition than to work with Your Excellency for these purposes.

studio dei rapporti italo-cinesi durante il periodo fascista', *Storia contemporanea*, dicembre 1973, p. 739 ff.; Id., 'Lessons From an Italian Connection', in D. Pong & E.S.K. Funk, eds., *Ideal and Reality. Social and Political Change in Modern China 1860-1949*, Lanham-New York-London 1985, pp. 93-123; E. Santarelli, *Il mondo contemporaneo. Cronologia storica 1870-1974*, Roma 1975, vol. I, particularly pp. 216-27; R. De Felice, *Mussolini il Duce. Lo Stato totalitario 1936-1940*, Torino 1981, particularly p. 396 ff.; M. Palla, 'Imperialismo e politica estera fascista', in *Storiografia e fascismo*, ed. G. Quazza, E. Collotti, M. Legnani, M. Palla & G. Santomassimo, Milano 1985, pp. 75-98.

⁽¹⁴⁾ See ADS, pr. 16/10, p. 658

With regard to your Country, I have the same sincere, constructive intentions which moved me at the orders of the Duce and at the service of our Revolution, whose spirit has crossed the boundaries of Italy and Europe. ⁽¹⁵⁾

On the other hand, such a spirit of friendship and sympathy towards the Chinese cause imbued ADS's entire mission, even though it was sometimes mingled with somewhat private worries about possible changes in the Italian position, about which correspondence with Rome brought confirmations and denials, rumours and inferences in both directions. Such worries never seemed to become political certainties, however, in De' Stefani's mind; if anything, they caused a mixture of painful questions and trusting hope, with the latter often prevailing.

Good evidence of this were the speeches and the opinions given both during his months of activity in Nanjing as well as during the journeys which, in May, brought him to visit various Chinese provinces and cities and meet several local political, administrative and economic figures (provinces of Shandong, Hebei, Shanxi, Hubei, and Hunan; cities of Jinan, Qingdao, Tianjin, Beijing, Hankou, Changsha). More proof of it were the 'very confidential reports' that he periodically sent to the 'Secretariat General of Italian Fascism Abroad', located in Rome, in which we can find information about the progress of the 'Fascist Cause' and about Communist and anti-Communist activity in China.

For example, in his letter of 31st May 1937, he wrote that 'In spite of the previsions that it seemed right to make about a year and a half ago regarding the direction of the leading Chinese Party [...] and public opinion towards a Fascist type of political system [...], the general situation in China appears today to have changed significantly for a whole series of reasons which we shall briefly explain herein'. The main cause of such a change was later shown to be 'the worsening of Sino-Japanese relations', which the USSR would take advantage of in order to 'launch an all-out propaganda campaign in China, having the complete acquiescence and sometimes real cooperation of the Chinese Government, to whom it would show the mirage of possible political and military support against Japan'. The effects of 'Communist propaganda' were such, according to De' Stefani, that 'The newspapers, booklets, pamphlets and magazines with or without pictures, containing tendentious articles and news, short biographies and disrespectful caricatures of the Duce, Chancellor Hitler and the leaders of the Spanish Nationalist Movement and even of the Army Chiefs and leaders of Japanese politics, are today publicly for sale and are increasing every day'. The way out of such a situation was indicated as a 'lasting entente' between China and Japan that would lead the former to 'recuperate its hostile attitude towards Communism; [...] But we wonder whether — De' Stefani pointed out at the end — at that point, it might not be too late to cancel the effects of propaganda which by now has been too widespread, especially amongst young people' ⁽¹⁶⁾.

However, as we have already pointed out, ADS appeared to be firmly convinced of the fact that the Italian policy towards China was to keep, even in the future, those features of friendship and support that had characterized it in the beginning: such certainty did not seem to be weakened even by the beginning of the Japanese war of aggression against China, in July 1937. During his talk with Jiang Jieshi in Lushan on 17th July 1937 — that is a few

⁽¹⁵⁾ In English in the original text. See ADS, pr. 18/5, p. 236.

⁽¹⁶⁾ See ADS, pr. 16/7, pp. 70-78; quotations are at pp. 72, 73-74 and 77-78.

days after the beginning of the war — in response to the General's direct question about Mussolini's attitude about the Sino-Japanese conflict, he affirmed:

I have not heard of it yet. But before I left Italy, I went to see Mussolini [...] and I asked him this question: 'When Italy is under your leadership, what is your policy toward China, do you wish her to be great?'. And he said 'yes'. From the word 'yes', we know very well what his attitude is. As for my opinion, I love China as I do my own country and I will say this from the bottom of my heart: China is now at the period of her reconstruction, any thing that hinders her reconstruction shall be forborne, if not infringing her sovereignty, so that the reconstruction can be completed [...] This is my observation and also that of Mussolini. ⁽¹⁷⁾

He would reiterate those same convictions several weeks later in front of the Hong Kong press, shortly before his departure towards Italy, emphasizing that 'China is prepared for the war notwithstanding she is not keen on it' and 'the unfailing future of China as a Civil and Military international power will represent a new factor in the political equilibrium of the world' ⁽¹⁸⁾.

Hence, he was sincerely trusting, but undoubtedly politically naïve, considering the changes that had already taken place — and those that would follow — in the international arena.

Indeed, in Europe, England's and France's policy of appeasement — both countries had difficulties in defending their rich colonial wealth accumulated outside Europe — towards the Rome-Berlin Axis opened the way to a precarious compromise which would end up first (in March 1938) in keeping London and Paris substantially silent about Austria's *Anschluss* to Germany and later (in September 1938) in the Conference and Pact of Munich, in which the annexation of the Sudeten by Germany and the start of the partitioning of Czechoslovakia were decreed. Such a compromise was, in fact, the first step towards the prevailing of that 'aggressive supremacy' of the Nazi and Fascist powers which would end up, a year later, in the German attack on Poland, the starting point of World War Two, according to a strongly Europe-centred historiographical interpretation which has often neglected the basic importance of Japan's aggression against China as the starting moment of the conflict. At the same time, Franco's counteroffensive in Spain, fed by Italian and German support, started to be successful, forewarning of the final offensive against Catalonia which started at the end of 1938 and ended in the spring of the following year when Barcelona first and, later, Madrid surrendered.

As for the Far East, the forming of the 'Second United Front' between Communists and Nationalists and the signing, in August 1937, of the non-aggression Pact between the USSR and China seemed to confirm De' Stefani's fears about a lessening of Nanjing's anti-Communist and anti-Soviet policy after the Japanese aggression.

Therefore, ADS's return to Italy and his consequent contacts with the national political and economic scene (end of 1937-beginning of 1938) took place under the light of a turn-round in Italian policy towards China, following a course which was to be further accentuated, as we have seen, during all of 1938 up to the following year. He pointed out such a change more

⁽¹⁷⁾ In English in the original text. See ADS, pr. 18/1, pp. 12-14; quotation is at p. 13.

⁽¹⁸⁾ See ADS, pr. 18/2, p. 431.

than once during those months in a large number of letters and notes, emphasizing, in particular, the relationship between national foreign policy and the international situation. In his writings, central points are the importance of China recognizing Italy's sovereignty over the Ethiopian Empire and the stressing of England's growing difficulty to perform an active role in the Far East, due to the seriousness of the situation in Europe and, more generally, in the Mediterranean area.

About this last point, in a report about the world's political situation, he wrote to Jiang Jieshi:

The cautious attitude of the English Government, even towards Japan, derives from this Mediterranean and African situation and from the need not to scatter its military forces. On the other hand, England cannot count on North-American support, also because of the negative attitude of the United States, which in any case would not be prepared for a naval military intervention [...]

This quick analysis makes us believe that a political and military intervention of France, England and America in the Far East is not probable and maybe not even possible, at least not before the European political equilibrium allows England and France greater freedom of movement. ⁽¹⁹⁾

In other papers, however, his bitterness about the fact that China was being forced to face the Japanese attack by itself was more evident:

As was foreseeable and as I have said more than once, China could not have, did not have and will not have any concrete political support from the League of Nations as such. Individual countries might continue to favour it with commercial trade and supplies. But it can count only on its own political and military forces [...]. ⁽²⁰⁾

As for the Ethiopian question, it was one of the main topics of a document agreed upon by De' Stefani and general Jiang Baili, special envoy of Jiang Jieshi, concerning Italian-British mediation in the Sino-Japanese conflict. In such a document — which was meant to be a memo for Ciano and which should have formed the basis for a Chinese diplomatic initiative addressed to Italy — the first point was China recognizing Italian Sovereignty over Ethiopia and the second point was Italy's commitment to support the principle of self-determination for the Chinese people. In fact, such mediation — to which London was supposed to adhere, especially after Eden ⁽²¹⁾ resigning from the English government due to his opposition to the appeasement policy towards Italy and Germany — was supposed to be able to overcome the hurdle of the 'Ethiopian question' in Sino-Italian relations, and to guarantee, at the same time, that no link could be established — as China feared — between acknowledging the Italian occupation of Ethiopia and the Japanese occupation of China ⁽²²⁾. However, this initiative

⁽¹⁹⁾ See ADS, pr. 18/1, pp. 23-26; quotations are at pp. 25-26.

⁽²⁰⁾ Letter to Xue Guangqian, 6th June 1938. See ADS, pr. 16/10, p. 575.

⁽²¹⁾ Sir Anthony Eden, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in the English government. See WW 1950, p. 840.

⁽²²⁾ See ADS, pr. 16/4-5, pp. 887-89.

came to a standstill before Tokyo's refusal of any mediation involving England and/or France as well as the ambiguity and wavering of the 'democratic powers' (including the USA) which, De' Stefani ironically stressed, 'indirectly supported', however skilfully camouflaged, China (e.g. supplies, sometimes military ones, transported on Swedish or Dutch ships so as not to offend Japanese feelings) and whose strategy of helping both opponents 'had the double aim of bleeding them financially and, in time, bringing them to their knees' (23).

Thus, De' Stefani's efforts clashed more and more with the seriously worsening international situation and with the growing criticism and intolerance which, in Italy, his attitudes gave rise to. His articles published between the end of 1937 and in 1938 in Torino's daily newspaper *La Stampa* are particularly significant in this respect, since they were written shortly after his return to Italy from China. Among such articles, we must mention, for their clear exposition of his ideas about the Far-Eastern question (and for the protests they brought from the Japanese Ambassador in Italy), 'The Chinese Army' (15th October 1937), 'Reasons for War in the Far East' (14th November 1937), 'Nanjing' (10th December 1937) and, especially, the controversial 'Who Will Have the Key to the Door?' (23rd December 1937), which the Minister of Popular Culture, Alfieri, responded to in a curt letter written to De' Stefani:

It has been observed — authoritatively — that your article 'Who Will Have the Key to the Door?' is a bit too philo-Chinese. Use this as a norm for your language. (24)

This was a clear sign of the changing times; curiously, it was in contrast with the constant flow of appreciation and acknowledgements that De' Stefani kept receiving from the highest Chinese authorities during the following months and years.

Conclusions

ADS's commitment to have Italy continue its attentive and sympathizing policy towards China was forced to slack off after 1938 and in particular at the beginning of the '40's, when the so-called 'Nanjing National Government', founded in March 1940 by Wang Jingwei and politically oriented in a philo-Japanese direction, was first recognized by Japan itself (end of 1940) and later by Italy and Germany (summer 1941), all of which a year earlier, in September, had made the Tripartite Pact.

However, from De' Stefani's memoirs it appears evident that, during what he defined as 'long, for me bitter, years', his deep convictions were only hidden and unsaid and gave way, at the end of the war, to a sense — as he put it — of 'great sweetness'. The compassionate letter that he wrote to Jiang Jieshi on 14th August 1945, date of the Japanese capitulation and hence of the victory of the national resistance in China, is proof of these feelings:

Only now, after five years, am I allowed to write to you to express my admiration for what you have done and are doing [...] My silence has been full of devoted affection for

(23) See ADS, pr. 16/4, pp. 216-19; quotations are at p. 218.

(24) See ADS, pr. 16/4-5, p. 887.

Your Excellency and of understanding for the many difficulties which you bravely faced [...] I have ever since then [since the talks between De' Stefani and Jiang Jieshi held in Jiangxi province] believed in a favourable outcome due to your courageous and far-reaching determination, and I owe such certainty to my having known your fine qualities and outstanding capabilities, together with the Chinese people's patriotism.

My faithfulness to such a just cause has been more than once reproached, and I have been accused of it even during my latest, most painful vicissitudes. I am not sorry, though, for having served that ideal of justice to which you certainly owe the achievements attained. ⁽²⁵⁾

⁽²⁵⁾ Letter to Jiang Jieshi, 14th August 1945. See *ADS*, pr. 16/4-5, p. 901.

Towards a New Italian Association for the Promotion of Asian and African Studies

by GHERARDO GNOLI

The present situation as regards Oriental studies in Europe is giving increasing rise to concern over the real possibilities for the development — and even survival in some cases — of a vast sector of studies now being subjected to ever greater administrative and organizational restrictions in many European countries. While the situation in Italy is not yet among the most critical, there is reason to believe that a process of stagnation and consequent recession could set in shortly. From the political and cultural standpoint, this is an undeniably paradoxical state of affairs. At the very time when Europe is coming into increasingly direct contact with the countries of Asia and of northern and eastern Africa, European studies on the great civilizations that have flourished in these countries and exercised such influence on European culture are subjected to unforeseen restrictions in flagrant contrast to the widely proclaimed desire for progress towards international understanding on a non-ephemeral basis.

In order to prepare for the probably imminent crisis in Oriental studies in Italy, it was decided by the Editorial Board of *East and West* — including L. Lanciotti, L. Petech, M. Taddei and myself — that steps should be taken to organize a meeting of Italian Orientalists exercising administrative duties in this area in various institutions and at various levels in order to examine the possibility of setting up an association for the defence and development of Oriental Studies.

As a result of the letters of invitation sent out on June 14, 1993, a meeting of numerous Italian Orientalists was held at the IsMEO in Rome. In addition to my colleagues on the Editorial Board of *East and West*, the participants included Prof. Francesco Gabrieli, Chairman of the Caetani Foundation of the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, honorary member of the IsMEO and former president of the Academy itself, as well as Prof. Sabatino Moscati, Chairman of the Scientific Board of the CNR Institute for Phoenician and Punic Civilization, President of the IsMEO from 1978 to 1979, Vice-President of the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei and President of the Academy's Class on Moral, Historical and Philological Sciences. The non-university institutions present included the following: the Istituto per l'Oriente 'Carlo Alfonso Nallino' (C. Lo Jacono, delegated by the President F. Castro), the 'Venice and the East' Institute of the Cini Foundation in Venice (L. Lanciotti), the Turin Archaeological Research and Excavation Centre for Asia and the Middle East (A. Invernizzi) and the National Museum of Oriental Art (D. Mazzeo). A message of support was sent by Prof. Oscar Botto, President of the Centro Piemontese di Studi sul Medio e Estremo Oriente (CESMEO) based in Turin.

The following universities were represented: the Oriental Institute of Naples (represented by the Rector, Prof. Adriano Rossi, L. Cagni, A. Gallotta, P. Marrassini and C. Sarnelli Cerqua), the University of Bologna (E. Acquaro, G.R. Franci and S. Pernigotti), the University of Cagliari (E. Bottazzi), the University of Pisa (E. Bresciani), the University of Rome 'La Sapienza'

(F. Baffi Guardata, P. Matthiae and B.M. Scarcia Amoretti), the University of Turin (F. Pennacchietti) and the University of Venice (G. Boccali, M. Sabbatini and R. Zipoli). Two colleagues from the University of Venice (F. Gatti and F. Lucchetta Picchetti) and one from the University of Milan (C. Della Casa) informed the organizers that they would be unavoidably prevented from attending.

Participants also included the two representatives for Oriental Studies on the advisory committees of the National Research Council (A. Avanzini) and the National University Council (G. Pettinato). Professor A. Rossi, Rector of the Oriental Institute of Naples, was also present in his role as Secretary of the 'Coordinamento Nazionale di Glottologia e Orientalistica'.

Of the thirty-six colleagues invited to attend the meeting on the basis of the criteria adopted, twenty-nine were present (one of whom by proxy) and four informed the organizers of their inability to attend. The meeting, which lasted from 17.30 to 19.30, was therefore highly representative and fully successful. It was unanimously agreed both that prompt action should be taken to set up an association for the defence and promotion of Oriental Studies in Italy and that a similar meeting should be convened at the IsMEO along the same lines on September 20, 1993 to proceed in this sense with the approval of a Statute and the notarization of the Articles of Association.

The initiative taken by the Editorial Board of *East and West* with the full agreement of the Board of directors of the IsMEO can thus be regarded as having already achieved its objectives. It is therefore my welcome duty to express the great satisfaction of the IsMEO, whose 60th-anniversary celebrations will be enhanced by pride at having made a decisive contribution, in full accordance with statutory objectives, to setting up a free association of all those involved in Oriental Studies in Italy, both inside and outside the sphere of public and private cultural and research institutions.

Obituaries

ANDRÉ BAREAU

1921-1993

André Bareau, who died on 2 March 1993 in Paris, was heir to the glorious French tradition of Indological studies which began with Eugène Burnouf and was passed on by S. Lévy, J. Filliozat, P. Demiéville and L. Renou (the latter three were all his masters). André Bareau was born at Saint-Mandé near Paris on 31 December 1921, and he got a M.A. in Philosophy there in 1946. In 1956 he was elected *Directeur d'Études à l'École Pratique des Hautes Études* (IV section). He held the *Chaire d'Études du Bouddhisme* of the Collège of France since March 1971. He retired in 1991.

His first work (1947) was a study on the notion of *asamkṛata* (Skr. *asamskṛta*) or unconditionality in ancient Buddhism, which he re-elaborated soon after in 1951 and broadened with the title: *L'absolu en philosophie bouddhique. Évolution de la notion d'asamskṛta*. This alteration in the title is significant and clearly indicates the intense interest the study of the historical aspect of ancient Buddhism aroused in him in relation to the philosophical study he never neglected.

In his work which throws so much light on the development and spread of Buddhism he consulted all available material, overlooking nothing, from archaeological finds to inscriptions, from the texts and versions in middle Indian and Sanskrit to those in Chinese, Tibetan, Singhalese and Japanese. I shall not list all his works here (13 volumes and over 114 papers), merely citing two works from 1955: *Les Premiers conciles bouddhiques*, and *Sectes bouddhiques du Petit Véhicule*, both of which are indispensable for knowledge of the ancient organization of monastic Buddhism; and the two volumes which date from 1970-71: *Recherches sur la biographie du Bouddha dans le Sūtrapitaka et les Vinayapitaka anciens*, II, Tomes 1-2, where it is clearly demonstrated how the Buddhist legend (the Master's life and works) began to take shape from the 3rd century B.C. onward, after Aśoka, therefore a little more than a century after the Buddha's death, and not before, in the 6th and 5th centuries, as implied by the local traditions that were generally accepted by Western scholars.

The Buddha's dates, the authenticity of the events of his life and the legend which soon grew up around him, the first draft of the canon and the Vinaya view, the schisms and the character of the various sects, are all subjects which no scholar of whatsoever trend or cultural school, can tackle without taking into consideration the important mass of documentation whether archaeological, historical, literary or geographical that André Bareau succeeded in collecting and examining.

André Bareau was a true master, ever ready to help his pupils, to revise and, if necessary, to modify, with new arguments, the conclusions he had arrived at. He was extremely reserved, far from any kind of ostentation, disliking congresses, general meetings of scientific bodies, etc. His travels — often long and wearing — to India, Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), Indochina, were for study purposes and were not confined to visiting historical and archaeological sites,

for he actually visited Buddhist communities in Ceylon and Indochina and engaged the modern exponents of the doctrine in conversation.

He was a sincere friend of Italy which he visited on several occasions (in June 1983 he delivered some lectures at a symposium organized in Naples by the Istituto di Studi Filosofici and the Istituto Universitario Orientale), and one of his books, *En suivant Bouddha* (1985), was translated into Italian: *Vivere il Buddismo*, Milano 1990.

Giuseppe Tucci obtained two papers by him for this Journal — 'The Concept of Responsibility in Ancient Buddhism' (*EW*, VI, 3, 1955, pp. 216-23) and 'The Notion of Time in Early Buddhism' (*EW*, VII, 4, 1957, pp. 353-64). When IsMEO invited the most outstanding scholars to contribute to a memorial volume for Professor Tucci, André Bareau promptly sent his own important paper — 'Le retour du Buddha à Kapilavastu dans les textes canoniques' (*Orientalia Iosephi Tucci Memoriae Dicata*, SOR, LVI, 1, Roma 1985, pp. 41-56).

Since 1989 he has been a corresponding member of our Institute.

His passing away is a grave loss to science. In the face of it and the sense of emptiness we are left with, little can be said, but some solace may perhaps be drawn from the serene repetition of the stanza which was often recited by the Master, whom he studied with deep devotion, and certainly venerated:

sarve kṣayāntā nicayā patamāntāḥ samucchrayāḥ /
samyogā viprayogāntā maraṇāntaṃ hi jīvitam //

Raniero Gnoli

LOUIS VANDEN BERGHE

1923-1993

Louis Vanden Berghe was born on 24th December 1923 at Oost-Nieuwkerke in western Flanders (Belgium) and died on 17th September 1993 at the age of seventy. His epoch-making work marked the most mature phase of archaeological research in Iran before the 1980s and plays a major role in the history of archaeological studies.

Having completed his university studies in the immediate post-war period at the Université Libre of Brussels, he first set foot in Iran in 1950 thanks to a scholarship at Teheran University. He was soon to attract the attention of the scientific community with the publication of a forceful abridged version of his monumental doctorate thesis on the painted pottery of Mesopotamia, Iran and Pakistan up to the end of the 3rd millennium B.C. ⁽¹⁾.

With unflagging passion he devoted the whole of his life's work to the study of ancient Iranian civilization. From 1953 to 1989 he taught at the University of Ghent, where he became full professor of Archaeology and the History of Ancient Near Eastern Civilizations in 1965. For practically a decade (1958-1967) he also taught the History of Ancient Iran and the Persian language at the Université Libre of Brussels. At Ghent he was president of the Institut d'Histoire de l'Art et d'Archéologie (1961-1963) and of the Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves (1960-1963), being also among the founders of the latter. At Brussels he was director of the Séminaire d'Histoire de l'Art et Archéologie de l'Iran ancien. He became Professeur Honoraire at Brussels on 1st October 1988 and Professeur Émerite at Ghent on 1st October of the following year. He was also director of the Belgian Archaeological Mission in Iran from 1965. He created the 'Iran' section of the Koninklijke Musea voor Kunsten Geschiedenis te Brussel/Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire à Brussels in 1967 and was its director until 1989.

Louis Vanden Berghe received a great many scientific honours both at home and abroad: doctor *honoris causa* of the University of Teheran in 1964; full member and president in 1973 of the Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België; associate member of the Académie Royale des Sciences d'Outre Mer de Belgique from 1978; foreign member of the Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften from 1985; corresponding member of the Académie Polonaise des Sciences et des Lettres of Cracow from 1992; full member of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut from 1962; honorary fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London from 1980; and corresponding member of the IsMEO from 1986. In 1987 he was awarded the Prix Ghirshman by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres of Paris for his work in the field of Iranian archaeology. Honorary titles were also awarded him both at home and abroad. He was made an Officer of the Iranian Order of Homayun

⁽¹⁾ 'De beschilderde ceramiek in V66r Azië, van de oudste tijden tot ±2000 v66r onze jaartelling', *Gentse bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis*, XIV, 1953, pp. 5-73; XV, 1954, pp. 5-84; XVI, 1955-1956, pp. 5-54.

in 1960. In Belgium he was awarded the Croix civile de lière classe in 1987 and appointed Grand Officier de l'Ordre de la Couronne in 1988.

He was particularly active as an organizer and promoter of scientific publications, both periodical and non-periodical. Together with Roman Ghirshman he founded *Iranica Antiqua* in 1960, the same year in which he joined the international editorial board of 'Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui'. From 1980 he was also an active member of the board of directors of 'Acta Iranica — Encyclopédie Permanente des Études Iraniennes'. He continued as editor of the 'Bibliographie Analytique de l'Archéologie de l'Iran Ancien', which he founded in 1980, and of the review *Iranica Antiqua* until his death in 1993.

From 1951 to 1979 Louis Vanden Berghe was engaged on field work in various regions of Iran and especially in Fars and was successful on various occasions in overcoming considerable obstacles stemming largely from the inaccessibility of the sites in question and, at times, also from shortcomings in the supporting structures.

The international scientific community is particularly appreciative of his studies on the earliest cultures of Fars ⁽²⁾, on the Elamites ⁽³⁾ and on the Urartians ⁽⁴⁾.

The great quantity of studies and research carried out over fifteen campaigns of reconnaissance and excavation between 1964 and 1979 has forever linked Louis Vanden Berghe's name with the archaeology of Fars, from the prehistoric times to the Sassanians, and with the bronzes of Luristan. While the relevant references can be found in the biography published by his pupil Ernie Haerinck (in *Archaeologia Iranica et Orientalis* [see below], I, pp. XXVII-XLV), attention should also be drawn to some of his more significant publications from the late 1960s on ⁽⁵⁾. His work was not, however, confined to Fars (which he explored thoroughly) and still less to Luristan. A determination to acquire first-hand knowledge of the country with no regional or chronological restrictions led him to visit other sites, as is demonstrated by the excavations at Khurvin, about 80 km northwest of Teheran ⁽⁶⁾.

In addition to his studies aimed at a typological and chronological reconstruction of the Luristan bronzes, Louis Vanden Berghe also distinguished himself by the discovery of

⁽²⁾ See e.g., 'Les ateliers de la céramique peinte chalcolithique en Iran sud-ouest', *Revue archéologique*, XXXIX, 1952, pp. 1-21; 'À la découverte des civilisations anciennes dans l'Iran méridional', *Annuaire des amitiés belgo-iraniennes*, I, 1963, pp. 5-43.

⁽³⁾ 'Les reliefs rupestres de Mālamīr', *Iranica Antiqua*, III, 1963, pp. 22-39; 'Données nouvelles concernant le relief rupestre élamite de Kūrangūn', *Fragmenta Historiae Elamicae* (= Mélanges offerts à M.-J. Stève), Paris 1986, pp. 157-73.

⁽⁴⁾ *Urartu. Een vergeten cultuur uit het bergland Armenië*, Gent 1982, with L. De Meyer and E. Haerinck.

⁽⁵⁾ *Het archeologisch onderzoek naar de Bronscultuur van Luristan*, Brussels 1968, 'Excavations in Luristan. Kalleh Nissar', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, 3, 1973, pp. 25-56; 'Recherches archéologiques dans le Luristan. Cinquième campagne: 1969', *Iranica Antiqua*, IX, 1972, pp. 1-48; 'La nécropole de Bard-i Bal au Luristan', *Archéologia*, 43, 1971, pp. 14-23; 'Recherches archéologiques dans le Luristan. Sixième campagne: 1970', *Iranica Antiqua*, X, 1973, pp. 1-79; 'Mission archéologique dans le Pošt-e Kūh, Lorestān. La nécropole de Čamahxi-Mumah: 1974', *Proceedings of the 4th Annual Symposium on Archaeological Research in Iran*, Teheran 1976, pp. 337-67; 'La nécropole de Mīr Khair au Pusht-i Kūh, Luristān', *Iranica Antiqua*, XIV, 1979, pp. 1-37; 'Les pratiques funéraires de l'âge du Fer III au Pusht-i Kūh, Luristān', *Iranica Antiqua*, XXII, 1987, pp. 201-66.

⁽⁶⁾ See *La nécropole de Kūrvīn*, Istanbul 1964.

numerous *chabār tāq* from the Sassanian period ⁽⁷⁾ and by his study of rock carvings ⁽⁸⁾. In the latter field he again ranged from the 3rd millennium B.C. to the Sassanian period in various studies accompanying on-site reconnaissance missions that often led to the discovery of new sculptures ⁽⁹⁾.

Vanden Berghe also devoted particular attention to archaeological documentation — with the result that his institute in Ghent can boast one of the most important documentary collections on ancient Iran — and to analytical bibliography. His justly renowned volume *Archéologie de l'Iran ancien* ⁽¹⁰⁾ was followed by important bibliographical supplements ⁽¹¹⁾ as well as a more concise book ⁽¹²⁾ published in Brussels in 1968 with versions also in English, French, German, Italian and Spanish. Similar attention was devoted to Mesopotamian and Near Eastern archaeology, as is demonstrated by three analytical bibliographies published between 1956 and 1960 ⁽¹³⁾.

Those who, like the present author, had the good fortune to know Vanden Berghe personally were struck by his enthusiasm as archaeologist and as explorer. He was fascinated by the great civilization of ancient Iran and highly sensitive to the main historical and art-historical problems both of the Iranian world and of the Ancient Near East in general. With youthful determination he devoted himself wholeheartedly to all the various aspects of his scholarly mission. An ever-present figure in international scientific debate, he took an active part in conferences and seminars and was particularly careful to cultivate relations with the foreign colleagues and scientific institutions involved in areas covered by his vast and many-faceted research. He travelled readily to the many countries that invited him often for lectures, seminars and conferences — including Austria, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Holland, Poland, Russia, Turkey, the United States and, obviously, Iran — and was also a most welcome and unforgettable guest in Italy on more than one occasion. The IsMEO, in particular, is proud to include his name among its corresponding members. He was sincerely and devotedly attached to our Institute and to the memory of Giuseppe Tucci, to whom he dedicated an important paper ⁽¹⁴⁾, as well as a generous admirer of the archaeological work carried out in Iran by Italian missions.

His pupils remember him as a deeply concerned master uncompromisingly devoted to

⁽⁷⁾ See, among other publications, 'Le Chahār Tāq de Qanāt-i Bāgh (Fārs) et l'inventaire des Chahār Tāqs en Irān', *Iranica Antiqua*, XIX, 1984, pp. 201-25.

⁽⁸⁾ *Reliefs rupestres de l'Irān ancien*, Bruxelles 1983.

⁽⁹⁾ 'Het rotareliëf te Guyum in het licht van de hofkunst de Sassanidische koning Bahram II', *Gentse bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis en Oudheidkunde*, XVII, 1957-1958, pp. 1-25; 'Le relief parthe de Hung-i Naurūz', *Iranica Antiqua*, III, 1963, pp. 155-68; 'Lumière nouvelle sur l'interprétation de reliefs sassanides', *Iranica Antiqua*, XV, 1980, pp. 269-82; *Les reliefs rupestres d'Ehymaïde (Irān) de l'époque parthe*, Gent 1985, with K. Schippmann.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Leiden 1959; 2nd ed. Leiden 1966; Persian transl.: Teheran 1966; 2nd ed. Teheran 1968.

⁽¹¹⁾ *Bibliographie analytique de l'archéologie de l'Irān Ancien*, I, Leiden 1979; II, Leiden 1981; III, Leuven 1987, with E. Haerincx and, for the first, also with B. de Wulf.

⁽¹²⁾ *On het spoor van de oud-Iraanse beschavingen*, Brussel 1968.

⁽¹³⁾ *Bibliographie analytique de l'Assyriologie et de l'Archéologie du Proche-Orient*, IA, Leiden 1956; IPh, Leiden 1957; II, Leiden 1960; the first and third with H. F. Mussche and the second with L. De Meyer.

⁽¹⁴⁾ 'Les scènes d'investiture sur les reliefs rupestres de l'Irān ancien: évolution et signification', *Orientalia Iosephi Tucci Memoriae Dicata*, SOR, LVI 3, Roma 1988, pp. 1511-31.

his task. His colleagues and friends recall his courteous reserve, his tolerance and respect for others, and his exceptional scholarly acumen. Comparison of Vanden Berghe's two works on the state of archaeological research on ancient Iran, published at a distance of over thirty years ⁽¹⁵⁾, shows that a very considerable part of the great progress made in these studies is due to his own brilliant scholarship and commitment. It is therefore no surprise that pupils, colleagues and friends were eager to contribute with a real sense of gratitude to the miscellany in his honour: two volumes comprising over 1,000 pages with 62 articles by scholars from many different countries ⁽¹⁶⁾.

Louis Vanden Berghe suffered greatly when he was forced to break off field work after 1979. It was extremely painful for him to interrupt his activities as a militant archaeologist and, in fact, he never gave up hope of returning to Iran some day despite the new political situation. His premature death in his own country found him almost in a state of exile. His thoughts were constantly on his beloved Iran and he was most concerned that Iranian civilization should not gradually cease to play a part in western culture. His great efforts in the 1980s and beyond to ensure that Iran should be remembered in his own country and in the West as a whole included the organization of important exhibitions in Munich (1981) and Ghent (1982) on Luristan (as well as another exhibition in Ghent in 1982 on Urartu) and in Brussels (1983) on ancient Iranian rock carvings. More recently, another splendid exhibition was held in Brussels from 12th February to 25th April 1993 on Sassanian Iran ⁽¹⁷⁾.

The goal of keeping alive the interest of western culture in the history of Iranian civilization also underlay Louis Vanden Berghe's strenuous efforts as a promoter and moving spirit of the *Societas Iranologica Europaea*, which he served as vice president from 1983-1987 before becoming an honorary member in 1992. It was at a meeting held in London at the British Academy in October 1981 for the precise purpose of setting up a European society for Iranian studies that I had the good fortune to get to know him better. In addition to his vast experience and scholarship, I appreciated his very animated and straightforward approach to the most delicate and complex problems as well as his courtesy and balanced judgement. We were to meet on various occasions over the following years and at our last conversation I asked for his help with a study being carried out by my pupil Dr Carlo Cereti, which request was promptly and liberally satisfied.

I shared his sorrow at the impossibility of returning to field-work in Iran, which one glimpsed despite the discretion with which he showed his feelings. Therefore, paraphrasing the wishes expressed for man's twofold happiness both in this world and the next by King Xerxes in a famous inscription at Persepolis, while I cannot say that he was happy in the last years of his life, I certainly can say that, by virtue of his works and of their lasting memory, Louis Vanden Berghe most certainly *marta artāvā bavaiti*.

Gberardo Gnoli

⁽¹⁵⁾ 'De stand van de archeologische onderzoekingen in Irān', *Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux*, 13, 1953-1954, pp. 347-93; 'L'état des études de l'histoire de l'art et de l'archéologie, Irān', *Orientalia Romana*, 6: *Proceedings of the First European Colloquium of Iranology, Rome, June 18th-20th 1983*, Rome 1985, pp. 29-52.

⁽¹⁶⁾ *Archaeologia Iranica et Orientalis. Miscellanea in Honorem Louis Vanden Berghe*, edenda curaverunt L. De Meyer et E. Haerinck, I-II, Gent 1989, with a foreword by the Chancellor of the University of Ghent (L. De Meyer) as well as a biography and a bibliography by E. Haerinck (pp. I-XLV).

⁽¹⁷⁾ See the catalogue, which includes articles by eminent scholars from various nations: *Splendeur des Sassanides. L'empire perse entre Rome et la Chine [224-642]*, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Bruxelles 1993.

ROBERT BERTRAM SERJEANT

1915-1993

Robert Bertram Serjeant, formerly professor of Arabic at the University of Cambridge and one of the most distinguished Arabists of this century, died at his home at Denhead (Fife), on April 29th, 1993.

Robert Serjeant, 'Bob' for all his friends and closest pupils, was born on March 23rd, 1915 in Edinburgh, where he spent his early years at school and University and where he obtained a First Class honours degree in Semitic Studies. A scholarship took him to Cambridge, where at Trinity College, he worked at a Ph.D. research on 'Materials for a history of Islamic textiles', a dissertation for which he was awarded a Doctorate in 1939 and which was published serially in *Ars Islamica* and later as a book.

His earliest journey to the Arabian countries took him to Syria in 1935. The outbreak of the second world war found him in Aden, where he was carrying out fieldwork after having obtained a studentship from the School of Oriental and African Studies, London. It was the beginning of a lifelong association with the Arabian Peninsula and a research method in which equal weight was given to both library and field work. Bob Serjeant was certainly no arm-chair scholar and from the early days of his long academic activity he travelled widely to seek support to the results of his studies, directly from the experience of craftsmen, shepherds, sailors, fishermen, masons, soldiers and peasants. He believed, in fact, that those people were an invaluable source of knowledge and information, a living storehouse of unique data preserved throughout the development of the ancient Arabian civilization down to present times.

For this type of investigation Bob Serjeant possessed indeed the *physique du rôle*: equipped with an excellent knowledge not only of classical Arabic, but also of a number of dialects, he had the gift of an unfailing interest and enthusiasm. His naturally courteous and warm manners, together with a profound consideration and respect for local lifestyle and religion easily gained the sincere cooperation of the locals, who loved to talk to him. His natural inclination to enter into a friendly and sincere relationship with the Arabs was certainly fostered by the two years spent in the Aden Protectorate during the war, when Bob Serjeant served as officer of camel-mounted irregulars.

At the end of the hostilities in the Red Sea he returned to England to work for the BBC Arabic Service, editing *The Arabic Listener* and other publications. In 1947, after a short period of work as a lecturer at SOAS, he was awarded a Colonial Research Fellowship for a year work in the Wadi Hadramaut. The sojourn in Hadramaut, where he went with his wife Marion (a medical doctor, who gave him a son and a daughter) was an important opportunity to draw information from many local scholars and have access to rich private libraries, never seen before by foreign scholars. His research covered different fields of the local culture, such as folklore, customary laws, social organization, traditional technology and agriculture, and Bob Serjeant came gradually to realize how little the customs of the inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula

had changed over millennia, how relevant was the legacy of ancient Arabia into the Islamic civilization.

After the work in Hadramaut in 1848 Serjeant returned to SOAS as a Reader and in 1955 he was appointed to a new chair of Modern Arabic. In 1964 he resigned from SOAS and returned to Cambridge as a Lecturer, then Reader and Director of the Middle East Centre. In 1969 Serjeant was appointed to the Sir Thomas Adam's professorship, the oldest chair of Arabic in England, from which he retired in 1981.

During his years in Cambridge Bob Serjeant carried on his research in Arabia. The end of the civil war in the Yemen made it possible for him to return to the country (in 1963 he had visited the royalist area). Several weeks spent in Northern Yemen with his wife in 1972, inspired Bob Serjeant to launch the San'a project, an interdisciplinary scheme of research on the most illustrious and least known among the historic cities of Arabia. The project involved the combined efforts of several scholars, covering a variety of fields, from architecture to cookery, from geography to numismatics, yet the outcome was largely due to Serjeant's vast knowledge, accuracy of methods and perseverance. The results of the research were included in the book *San'a: An Arabian Islamic City*, a large volume of over 600 pages, edited by Serjeant and Ronald Lewcock, and published in 1983 by the World of Islam Festival Trust. The book was in a way concluding a series of features initiated in 1976 with the exhibition *Nomad and City* largely based on the research guided by Serjeant. It was during his first visit to San'a in 1972 that I had the pleasure of meeting Bob Serjeant, who asked me to take part in his project: it was the beginning of over twenty years of fruitful co-operation and friendship. I consider it a great gift to have had often the opportunity of enjoying Bob's company, profiting also from his wise and learned personality. I can confidently say that we only had a few points of disagreement. From my side the most serious was that Bob Serjeant liked cats and did not care very much for dogs.

Beside these quick notes on his career, I wish to give a better idea of Bob Serjeant's personality borrowing from one of his best friends and former student, Professor Rex Smith, who writes: 'Serjeant spent a great deal of his time and effort teaching undergraduates and supervising postgraduates [...] he abhorred university committees and their meetings, regarding them as a distraction from the real purpose of life, and thus he never assumed high administrative office, similarly he had no time for academic politics'.

His death is a great loss for his family and for his many friends, students and colleagues, and is a great loss for those who are interested in the Arabian civilization.

Serjeant was a very prolific writer, but he preferred to publish articles than books, that he tended to consider too pretentious. Apart from his PhD thesis, published as a book with the title *Islamic Textiles, Materials for a History up to the Mongol Conquest*, by the Librairie du Liban in 1972, he published *South Arabian Poetry: I, Prose and Poetry from the Hadramaut*, London 1951; *The Portuguese off the South Arabian Coast*, Oxford 1963; *South Arabian Hunt*, London 1977. With Robin Bidwell as co-editor, he started the interdisciplinary journal *Arabian Studies* of which eight issues were published in a first series and he planned a new series, of which he edited the first issue. We have already mentioned the monumental book on San'a, but Serjeant was also the editor of the *Cambridge History of Arabian Literature*, started with Professor Arberry (vol. I, and continued by Serjeant up to vol. IV). In 1976, under the general sponsorship of the World of Islam Festival, he organized at Cambridge a Colloquium on 'The Islamic city' and edited his and many other contributions published as a volume by UNESCO in 1980.

Serjeant however poured a wealth of information into a great number of learned articles, on a variety of topics. In recent reprints many of his articles have filled two volumes of 'Variorum', and a third volume is under consideration.

In my personal view Serjeant's greatest contribution to Arabian studies is to have used a type of research which can be considered complementary to Islamic archaeology.

Articles like 'Buildings and Builders in Hadramaut' (1949); 'The Quarters of Tarim and Their Tansurahs' (1950); 'Mihrab' (1959); 'Some Irrigation Systems in the Hadramaut' (1964); 'Wards and Quarters of Towns in South-West Arabia' (1978); and more recently the paper given in 1991 at the conference 'Arabia Antiqua' (IsMEO, Rome) 'Arabian Commerce in the 6th-7th Century, from Arabian Sources' are milestones in the development of scientific research on the Arabian peninsula, implementing research methods which contribute to fill a long lasting gap between Arabists and Archaeologists and Art Historians.

Paolo M. Costa

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HISTORY OF RELIGIONS

Giovanni Pettinato, *La Saga di Gilgamesh*, in collaboration with Silvia Maria Chiodi and Giuseppe Del Monte, Rusconi, Milano 1992, 430 pp.

Before this edition appeared the *Saga of Gilgamesh* was available to Italian readers in its entirety in the translation by Giuseppe Furlani, presented in a work opening with 55 pages of introduction and closing with 33 pages of notes⁽¹⁾. For the time it was rightly considered an excellent piece of work supported by the author's sound learning. However, Assyriology and Sumerian studies have made great strides ahead in the intervening thirty-five years and Furlani's work now appears decidedly dated. Suffice it to recall the voluminous literature on *Gilgamesh* published since then; confining our attention to the most significant or extensive studies we have: Wolfram von Soden (Stuttgart 1966), A. Heidel (Chicago 1967), G.S. Kirk (Cambridge 1970), K. Hecker (Neukirchen-Vluyn 1974), Thorkild Jacobsen (New Haven 1976), K. Oberhuber (Darmstadt 1977), Jeffrey H. Tigay (Philadelphia 1982), T. Abusch (Chicago 1986), St. Dalley (Oxford 1989), M. Gallery Kovacs (Stanford 1989) and the very recent study by Jean Bottéro (Paris 1992), as well as a collection of studies edited by Paul Garelli (Paris 1960) with an accurate, extensive bibliography that can be updated to 1989 with the bibliography included in the volume by Dalley listed above⁽²⁾.

Thus this volume by Pettinato provides Italian culture with an original, up-to-date contribution on the great literary heritage of Sumerian and Assyro-Babylonian civilization. Pettinato deserves our gratitude for this work, as do the scholars who collaborated with him, Silvia Maria Chiodi and Giuseppe Del Monte. To appreciate the real value of this volume the reader need only compare it with Furlani's 1958 translation and study: the difference is quite remarkable, in terms both of the progress made in interpretation of the text (an aspect that goes beyond my personal competence) and the method employed to present the whole subject. It is, in fact, precisely this latter point, together with another aspect relating more directly to the historical-religious signific-

ance of the work, that I wish to dwell upon briefly here.

The method underlying the conception and presentation of this work offers the layman clear, simple — I might venture to say easy — access to the technique of philological investigation as applied in a truly challenging field. Indeed, one of the great virtues of this book is the clear, straightforward language it is written in, the points being set out with lucidity and precision while remaining within the immediate grasp of the reader, even if he has no acquaintance with Assyriology, Sumerian studies or cuneiform script. Layman and specialist alike will rapidly get the point if they glance through the very last part dedicated to 'Documentation' — 63 pages containing all the details necessary both to access the sources of the individual tables and sections and to see how the text has been reconstructed. With such a wealth of documentation any reader can form some idea of the state and methodology of studies, the difficulties involved and the work generations of philologists have dedicated to the clarification of single passages, reconstructing missing parts and the sense of sections often essential to the understanding of the whole. Thanks to clear, accessible exposition of a literary art so remote from ours the reader can grasp the significance and value of a cultural phenomenon that might at first sight appear impenetrable, practically enshrouded in an aura of myth, magic and forbidding mystery.

On the problem of the parallels the *Saga of Gilgamesh* appears to show with other literary and religious traditions from Hebrew to Greek, Pettinato also takes a clear position on what — to our present knowledge — are the real terms of the exegetic approaches this century (and the latter half of the last century) has produced. Here illumination is also provided by Chiodi's contribution on the discovery and reconstruction of the *Saga* (i.e. the set of texts referring to the figure of *Gilgamesh*, including those not found in the so-called classical epic and the twelve tablets containing it): these 36 pages will be greatly appreciated by those interested in understanding what the gradual reconstruction of the Mesopotamian *saga* has implied, not only in the world of Assyriological and Sumerian scholarship but also

for Bible and, more generally speaking, historical-religious studies.

The volume includes a lengthy introduction (110 pages) in three separate chapters: the classical epic (pp. 7-50), the saga (pp. 51-81) and the chapter by Chiodi referred to above (pp. 82-117). This is followed by a translation of the classical epic, i.e. the 12th century B.C. version by the priest-exorcist Sinleqiunnini (in the Middle Babylonian period, more or less at the time of Nebuchadnezzar I. 1125-1104) on twelve tablets (eleven plus an appendix). Next in turn come the Old Babylonian epic (pp. 241-69), the Middle Babylonian epic (pp. 273-81), the Hittite epic (edited by G. Del Monte, pp. 285-99), the Elamite epic (pp. 303-34), the Sumerian poems on Gilgamesh (i.e. Gilgamesh and Agga; Gilgamesh and Khubaba; Gilgamesh and the Celestial Bull; Gilgamesh, Enkidu and the Nether World; The Death of Gilgamesh: pp. 307-47); the Documentation described above (pp. 351-413); the selected Bibliography (pp. 415-18), some notes on the author of this volume (pp. 419-20) and an index of the names of divinities, persons, places and peoples compiled by S.M. Chiodi (pp. 421-27), appropriate to readers unversed in Mesopotamian matters.

Let us now spend a few words on the value and significance of the work presented here to Italian readers.

In terms of literary value, the epic of Gilgamesh is a poetic work containing episodes we can still fully appreciate after three or four thousand years. Naturally, the quality of the translation has direct bearing on our appreciation, and Pettinato's clear, telling language does not let us down.

In terms of significance — a particularly important aspect for historians of religion — despite certain differences in approach the general consensus has always been that the main theme of the saga is the inevitability of death and the need for wise men to accept the human condition. Following in the footsteps of Th. Jacobsen⁽³⁾ and G. Buccellati⁽⁴⁾, Pettinato admits the possibility that the epic of Gilgamesh may belong to the genre of sapiential literature that found its major origins in Mesopotamia, together with Israel, Iran and certain other civilizations. It is not (physical) immortality that man should aspire

to, but wisdom. Gilgamesh had to accept his human condition which, in his case, was that of a king both glorious and wise. However, the attainment of wisdom lies through severe trials, suffering and courage, grief and virtue — hence the initiation ordeals our hero must go through. Indeed, the human condition itself can be seen as the fruit of initiation ordeals overcome.

As we know, Gilgamesh loses the 'plant of restlessness' (pp. 47, 227 f.) that restores youthful vigour and virility, deprived of it by a snake when his attention was distracted. The hero is desperate but, as Pettinato points out, the poem may be making the point that Gilgamesh was first and foremost aware of his duties as a good sovereign, and that he wished to share with the elders of his people the gift of Utanapishtim — a gift that could probably not be extended to the whole of humanity (p. 47). At any rate, the plant was only an ephemeral, almost illusory acquisition: it was not this that counted, but rather the wisdom achieved with acceptance of the human condition. Indeed, it was precisely in virtue of this acceptance that Gilgamesh — famed as a great sovereign and builder of the walls of Uruk — achieved that true immortality that lies in the records of posterity: the epic of Gilgamesh is a hymn to man as a bearer of culture and civilization, and to wisdom as the only way for humans to approach the divine condition. 'Primordial man' (tab X, v. 320) is a prisoner: only the wise, civilized man can be said to be free. Here we come to a crucial point in the interpretation of the work: is Gilgamesh a man or a god? In religious-historical terms this is clearly a fundamental question. If the solution lay in the divinity of Gilgamesh, then the work would be essentially mythological, while the — perhaps more convincing — human interpretation would bring out the basically sapiential nature of the work (?) However, there can be no doubt that the reader of this fact-filled volume will be able to get an up-to-date picture of the greatest and most celebrated figure in early Mesopotamia.

Having illustrated the qualities of this volume, I should point out that the author's philological rigour appears to have led him to certain decisions that may not be shared by scholars seeking links between literature and the figurative arts, especially glyptics. In fact, Pettinato prefers and

recommends caution (p. 78) although he does make passing reference to portrayals of certain individual figures such as the monster Khubaba and the scorpion-men. Significantly, he refers readers exploring possible connections between literary and iconographic motives to the pages Furlani (6) dedicates to the subject, to arrive at generally negative conclusions. However, the author does not stop at this reference but also cites a recent article by W.G. Lambert (7) on the whole problem, so that interested readers can readily get their bearings in a fascinating but difficult field where little seems fixed.

Finally, together with gratitude towards Professor Pettinato and his collaborators we are duty-bound and indeed glad to add a note of appreciation for the Rusconi publishing house; by giving their blessing to a volume rich in documentation and philological comment they have offered a suitable model for the publication of complex oriental texts which the other publishers may — let us hope — follow in the future, thus guaranteeing adequate scholarly rigour for works published for a non-specialist readership.

Gherardo Gnoli

(1) G. Furlani, *Miti babilonesi e assiri*, Sansoni, Firenze 1958, pp. 111-282.

(2) For full bibliographical data of this volume, pp. 417-18 and the ample notes of commentary.

(3) *The Treasures of Darkness. A History of Mesopotamian Religion*, New Haven 1976, pp. 193 ff.

(4) 'Tre saggi sulla sapienza mesopotamica — I: Gilgamesh in chiave sapienziale', *Oriens Antiquus*, XI, 1972, pp. 2-36.

(5) On this aspect, see also W.L. Moran, 'Gilgamesh', in *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, Editor in chief M. Eliade, New York 1987, vol. 5, pp. 556-60.

(6) *Op. cit.*, pp. 148-62.

(7) 'Gilgamesh in Literature and Art: the Second and First Millennia', in Ann Farkas et al., *Monsters and Demons in Ancient and Medieval Worlds*, Mainz 1987, pp. 37-52.



IRANIAN STUDIES

Encyclopædia Iranica, ed. Ehsan Yarshater. Center for Iranian Studies, Columbia University, New

York. Vol. III, Fascicles 1-8. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London-New York 1987-1988, 896 pp.

The third Volume of the monumental *Encyclopædia Iranica* is an important contribution to the progress of Iranian Studies. It contains more than 400 articles, from *Ātaš* to *Bayhaqī*, *Ẓabīr-al-Dīn*, in eight fascicles. It is impossible here to list all the contributions fascicle by fascicle, but I think it could be useful to mention the principal articles, on my personal interests.

Fasc. 1. *Ātaš* — *Awā'el al-Maqālāt*, 1987, pp. 1-112

Fasc. 2. *Awā'el al-Maqālāt* — *Azerbaijan iv*, 1987, pp. 113-24

Fasc. 3. *Azerbaijan iv* — *Bāčā-(ye) Saqqā*, 1988, pp. 225-336

Fasc. 4. *Bāčā-(ye) Saqqā* — *Babai Faith iii*, 1988, pp. 337-448

Fasc. 5. *Babai Faith iii* — *Baktiari Tribe ii*, 1988, pp. 449-560

Fasc. 6. *Baktiari Tribe ii* — *Banān*, 1988, pp. 561-672

Fasc. 7. *Banān* — *Bardesanēs*, 1988, pp. 673-784

Fasc. 8. *Bardesanēs* — *Bayhaqī*, *Ẓabīr-al-Dīn*, 1988, pp. 785-896.

The fire, its worship, and diffusion in Iran are the subject of several articles: *Ātaš*, pp. 1-5, by M. Boyce; *Ātaš Niyāyish*, pp. 6-7, by M. Boyce and F.M. Kotwal; *Ātashdān* (Zoroastrian Pahlavi) 'place of fire', pp. 7-9, and *Ātashkade* (N.p.) 'house of fire', pp. 9-10; *Ātaš-xōbr* (Zor. Pahl.) 'ritual offering to the fire', pp. 11-12, by M. Boyce and F.M. Kotwal again, who give an extensive summary of all the problems concerning fire worship in the Zoroastrian religion, from the Avestan texts to the contemporary tradition (see also *Āθrevan-* (Av.) 'priest', pp. 16-17, by M. Boyce).

Avestan subjects are discussed in a number of articles: *Avesta*, pp. 35-44, by J. Kellens; *Avestan Geography*, pp. 44-47, by G. Gnoli; *Avestan Language*. i. *The Avestan script*. ii. *The phonology of Avestan*. iii. *The grammar of Avestan*, pp. 47-62, by K. Hoffmann; *Avestan People*, pp. 62-66, by M. Boyce. In particular the articles of Hoffmann (now republished in Id., *Aufsätze zur Indoiranistik*.

Band 3, herausgegeben von S. Glauch, R. Plath & S. Ziegler, Wiesbaden 1922, pp. 864-79) contain a new up-to-date basic introduction to the problems of the Avestan language. Kellens' work in turn offers a wide-ranging survey of Avestan literature and philology. All these items are very useful, and can be used both by advanced scholars and by university students. Among the other Avestan and Zoroastrian subjects discussed in this volume it is necessary to quote here the following articles: *Āz*, pp. 168-69, by J.P. Asmussen; *Āzūtī*, p. 273, by M. Boyce; *Bactria*, ii. *In the Avesta and in Zoroastrian Tradition*, pp. 343-45, by F. Grenet; *Bag Nask*, pp. 400-1, *Bagān Yašt*, p. 406, *Barš Nask*, pp. 799-800, *Barsom Yašt*, p. 827, all by P.O. Skjervø; *Babman*, i. *In the Avesta*, pp. 487-88, by J. Narten, and ii. *In the Pahlavi Texts*, p. 488, by Ph. Gignoux; *Babman Yašt*, pp. 492-93, by W. Sundermann; *Babrēm*, i. *In Old and Middle Iranian texts*, pp. 510-13; *Bang*, i. *In Ancient Iran*, pp. 689-90, both by G. Gnoli; *Āstī*, pp. 122-23, by B. Schlerath; *Āst*, p. 123, by M.F. Kanga; *Bāj*, p. 531, by A.V. Williams; *Barsom*, pp. 825-27, both by M.F. Kanga. Of particular interest is the article by R. Schmitt dedicated to the biography of the founder of Avestan linguistics, Bartholomae (*Bartholomae, Christian*, pp. 832-36), followed by an item on *Bartholomae's Law*, p. 836, by M. Mayrhofer.

A large portion of the first fascicle is devoted to *Avicenna*, i. *Introductory note*, pp. 66-67, by M. Mahdi; ii. *Biography*, pp. 67-70, by D. Gutas; iii. *Logic*, pp. 70-73, by Sh.B. Abed; iv. *Metaphysics*, pp. 73-79, by M.E. Marmura; v. *Mysticism*, pp. 79-83, by D. Gutas; vi. *Psychology*, pp. 83-84, by F. Rahman; vii. *Practical science*, pp. 84-88, by M. Mahdi; viii. *Mathematics and physical sciences*, pp. 88-92, by G. Saliba; ix. *Music*, pp. 92-94, by O. Wright; x. *Biology and medicine*, pp. 94-99, by B. Musallam; xi. *Persian works*, pp. 99-104, by M. Achena; xii. *The impact of Avicenna's philosophical works in the West*, pp. 104-7, by S. Van Riet; xiii. *The influence of Avicenna on medical studies in the West*, pp. 107-10, by U. Weiser.

A detailed discussion of the figure of the dragon is given in *Aždabā*, i. *In Old and Middle Iranian*, pp. 191-99, by P.O. Skjervø; ii. *In Persian literature*, pp. 199-203, by Dj. Khaleghi-Motlagh; iii. *In Iranian folktales*, pp. 203-4, by

M. Omidsalar; iv. *Armenian aždabak*, pp. 204-5, by J.R. Russell. In particular, Skjervø's contribution is very important for the history of Iranian pre-Islamic cults, as it ranges from the Indo-Iranian connections in the theme of the dragon, e.g., the comparison of Indra Vṛtrahan and Verethragna, the myth of Aži Dahāka and Kərəsāspa, etc (comprising the etymology of Skt. *ahi*, Av. *aži*), with their developments, to the problems involved in the different images of the dragons in the sky: the Mūš Pairikā and Gōxīhr in the Pahlavi Books or the Mazan demons in Manichaeism. On this subject, in addition to the large bibliography offered, I should like to quote the article of B. Geiger ('Indo-Iranica. Kritische Bemerkungen zu E. Abegg, "Der Messiasglaube in Indien und Iran"', *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 40, 1933, pp. 95-122, in particular pp. 108-13), who first noted the etymological connection between the Av. epithet *gaociōra-* and Pahl. *gōxīhr*, and the old but interesting work of M.P. Khareghat ('The identity of some heavenly bodies mentioned in the Old Iranian writings', in *Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Madressa Jubilee Volume*, Bombay 1914, pp. 115-58). In addition, I should like to recall, in general, the basic contribution on W. Hartner ('Le problème de la planète Kaïd', in *Les Conférences du Palais de la Découverte*, Série D, no. 36, Université de Paris, 1955, now republished in W. Hartner, *Oriens-Occidens*, Hildesheim 1968, pp. 268-86).

The following articles are particularly interesting for the Pahlavi literature: *Āyādgar ī Wuzurg-mīhr*, pp. 127-28, by S. Shaked; *Āyādgar ī Zərēñēn*, pp. 128-29, by M. Boyce.

The idea of 'fate' is analysed under *Bakt*, *The term*, pp. 536-37, by E. Eilers, and ii. *The Concept*, pp. 537-38, by S. Shaked.

On the Manichaean religion and Gnosticism note especially: *Augustine*, pp. 26-28, by G. Widengren; *Beāt*, p. 277, by N. Sims-Williams; *Bardesanes*, pp. 780-85, by P.O. Skjervø.

On Buddhism, e.g., see *Avadāna*, p. 30, by R.E. Emmerick; *Baktī*, pp. 535-36, by P. Jackson; *Barlaam and Iosaph*, p. 801, by J.P. Asmussen.

On the Christians in Iran see *Bābāy*, pp. 307-8, and *Bābāy the Great*, p. 308, both by A. Vööbus; *Bābāy of Nisibis*, p. 309, by N. Sims-Williams; *Bar Kōnāy, Theodore*, pp. 737-38, by

J.P. Asmussen; *Berlabbā*, p. 823, by N. Sims-Williams; *Baryaumā*, p. 824, by A. Vööbus; *Basilius of Caesarea*, pp. 845-46, by J.P. Asmussen.

Historical subjects are well represented in this volume. On the Median and Achaemenian periods see: *Austiyāra*, p. 29, by R. Schmitt; *Austophradates*, p. 29, by M.A. Dandamayev, *Bāgryādīš*, p. 408, and *Bāgazyšta*, pp. 408-9, by R. Schmitt.

On the Parthian and Sasanian periods see *Āzād*, pp. 169-70, by M.L. Chaumont; on the six kings named Bahrām see the articles *Bahrām*, pp. 514-22, by A.Sh. Shahbazi, O. Klēma & W.L. Hanaway Jr.; on the six Parthian kings named Balāš see pp. 574-79, by K. Schippmann; on the Sasanian king Balāš, see pp. 579-80, by M.L. Chaumont.

On slavery see *Banda*, pp. 682-85, and *Barda and bardadārī*, pp. 762-79.

Of considerable interest and usefulness are the linguistic articles: *Bactrian Languages*, pp. 344-49, by N. Sims-Williams; *Bartangī*, pp. 827-30, by G. Budruss; *Balkandī*, pp. 846-50, by P.O. Skjærvø.

Very exhaustive are the contributions *Azerbaijan*. i. *Geography*, pp. 205-15, by X. de Planhol; ii. *Archaeology*, pp. 215-21, by W. Kleiss; iii. *Pre-Islamic history*, pp. 221-24, by K. Schippmann; iv. *Islamic history to 1941*, pp. 224-31, by C.E. Bosworth; v. *History from 1941-1947*, pp. 231-34, by B. Kuniholm; vi. *Population and its occupations and culture*, pp. 234-38, by R. Tapper; vii. *The Iranian language of Azerbaijan*, pp. 238-45, by E. Yarshater; viii. *Azeri (Ādārī) Turkish*, pp. 245-48, by G. Doerfer; ix. *Iranian elements in Azeri Turkish*, pp. 248-51, by L. Johanson; x. *Azeri literature*, pp. 251-55, by H. Javadi and K. Burrell; xi. *Music of Azerbaijan*, pp. 255-57.

Other wide-ranging geo-historical and ethno-linguistic articles are represented by *Bakhtiari tribe*, i. *Ethnography*, pp. 553-59, by J.-P. Digard; ii. *The Bakhtiari dialect*, pp. 559-61, by G.L. Windfuhr; etc.; *Balk*, pp. 587-96, and *Bakuchistan*, pp. 598-647, both by several scholars.

The important historical figure of the founder of Babism, Bāb, Sayyed 'Alī Mohammad Šīrāzī, is discussed at pp. 278-84 by D.M. MacEoin; see, too, *Babism*, i. *The Babi movement*, pp. 309-15, and ii. *Babi executions and uprisings*, pp. 315-17, by the same author. For Bahaism see *Bahā'-Allāh*,

Mirzā Hosayn-'Alī Nūrī, pp. 422-29, by J.R.I. Cole; and s.v. *Babai faith or Babaiism*, i. *The faith*, pp. 438-46, by J. Cole; ii. *Babai calendar and festivals*, pp. 446-47, by A. Banani; iii. *Babai and Babi schisms*, pp. 447-49, by D.M. MacEoin; iv. *The Babai communities*, pp. 449-54, by P. Smith; v. *The Babai community in Iran*, pp. 454-60, by V. Rafati; vi. *The Babai community of Ashkhabad ('Ešqābād)*, pp. 460-61, by V. Rafati; vii. *Babai persecutions*, pp. 461-64, by D.M. MacEoin; viii. *Babai shrines*, pp. 464-65, by J. Wallbridge; ix. *Babai temples*, pp. 465-67, by V. Rafati & F. Sahba; x. *Babai schools*, pp. 467-70, by V. Rafati; xi. *Babai conventions*, p. 470, by M. Momen; xii. *Babai literature*, pp. 471-75, by D.M. MacEoin.

S.v. *Babylonia*, there are two wide-ranging articles: i. *History of Babylonia in the Median and Achaemenian periods*, pp. 326-34, by M.A. Dandamayev, and ii. *Babylonian Influences on Iran*, pp. 334-36, by G. Gnoli. To the contribution of Gnoli I would only add a few remarks: it must be stressed that (1) the Achaemenian period was a time of great development and evolution in Mesopotamian sciences (see, e.g., O. Neugebauer, *The Exact Sciences in Antiquity*, 2nd ed., Providence 1957, pp. 102-3; B.L. van der Waerden, *Erwachende Wissenschaft*, Bd. 2. *Die Anfänge der Astronomie*, Basel-Stuttgart 1968, pp. 94-135); (2) the first known horoscope is dated by A. Sachs -409 (= 410 B.C.); Babylonian Horoscopes, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, 6, 2, 1952, pp. 49-75, in particular pp. 54-57), (3) the Achaemenians were probably responsible for the diffusion in India of many astronomical ideas born in Mesopotamia, as D. Pingree noted (*Jyotiḥśāstra Astral and Mathematical Literature*, Wiesbaden 1981, p. 10); (5) the origin of the Zoroastrian cosmic year (12.000/9.000 years) should be connected to the last period of Berossus' Great Year (P. Schnabel, *Berosos und die babylonisch-bellenisttsche Literatur*, Berlin-Leipzig 1923, pp. 106-7, 175-76, 261-63); (6) the traditional subdivision of the sky into three spheres (stars, moon, sun) has probably Babylonian origin or connections, as Ph. Gignoux kindly informed me with reference to a recent work by P. Kingale, 'Ezechiel by the Grand Canal: between Jewish and Babylonian Tradition', *JRAS*, nov. 1992, pp. 339-46, in particular pp. 341-42). A tripartition of the universe and a tripartite sky are well

V Begley & R.D. Puma, eds., *Rome and India. the Ancient Sea Trade*, The University of Wisconsin Press, 1991, XIX-228 pp., ill.

The Colloquium entitled 'Rome and India, The Sea Trade', held in San Antonio in December 1986 on the occasion of the annual meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, have been recorded in two publications. the abstracts of the lectures appeared in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, 91, 1987, and the 'Proceedings' have now been published. Thanks to the long gap between the two publications, it was possible to add a further article on glass products which had not been presented previously as well as updating contributions in the light of the most recent finds, both in India — with a detailed report by K.V. Raman — and in Egypt, thanks to the work of S. Sidebotham.

This 'Colloquium' was particularly significant since it offered Indian scholars and 'classicists' the opportunity to discuss about problems concerning western artefacts of the Greek-Roman period found in India and work on a common terminology for the classification of pottery of the Mediterranean area. The meeting provided an excellent opportunity not only to review previous studies, but also to exchange ideas in the light of personal experience and new finds.

The book contains interesting articles analysing the imported ceramic types found in India: scientific methods are applied in the endeavour to identify types firstly, then provenance and dating, taking reference from the classifications currently adopted by classical archaeologists.

The scholar H. Comfort dedicates particular attention to the *terra sigillata* found at Arikamedu. The author points out that the customary description of these vessels as 'Arretine' ware is erroneous since none of the finds display the characteristic manufacture mark of the city.

E.L. Will deals with the Roman amphorae found in many parts of the North and South, focusing on the numerous finds yielded by the recent excavations at Arikamedu. Here she identifies a great many types, some of Greek origin — from the islands of Kos, Rhodes and Knidos — dating back to the 2nd century B.C., others of a later date and Italic imitation displaying manufacture marks associated with

such centres as Brindisi, Naples and Pompeii, while yet others originate from Spain and Istria. The author also suggests that goods like garum and oil, shipped in particular types of amphorae, were not real exports, but intended primarily for the consumption of western residents. Other scholars have come to similar conclusions on other products, such as *terra sigillata* and glassware.

K.W. Slane has some interesting observations to make on pottery imported from the West — amphorae once again, but also 'oriental *sigillata*' and the so-called 'oriental *sigillata* B', i.e. pottery produced in Gaul but exported throughout the Mediterranean area. He also deals with local imitations of Mediterranean pottery and, having made his own analysis of finds, concurs with other scholars that export must have developed by the 1st century B.C. (possibly even the 2nd century), reaching a peak in the early days of the empire to peter out in the early 2nd century A.D.

Thus only the coins remain to testify to the continuation of trade with India until the 4th century at least; indeed, on the evidence of the *Cosmas Indicopleustes*, at least until the Byzantine period. J. Carswell and, in the epilogue, D. Whitehouse write of the recent excavations carried out on the site of Mantai in Sri Lanka which may, in fact, provide us with data missing for several centuries and fill in the picture of the changing trade patterns in the ancient Mediterranean area.

W. Begley also brings her scholarly attention to bear on the subject of pottery of western imitation — the so-called moldware being particularly interesting in this area — and again suggests that trade must have begun before the 1st century A.D., considering the similarities these vessels show in form and technique to various ceramic and metal models attested in the Mediterranean area from the 4th century B.C. on.

N.P. Orton deals with the so-called 'red polished ware' found in considerable quantities mainly in Saurashtra and Gujarat, proposing a system of classification based on finds from twelve sites. This would not appear to show western influence, but must have been inspired by the previous black ware, which showed equally high quality and was produced in a large variety of forms.

R.D. De Puma and E.M. Stern tackle the problems of bronze and glass findings respectively, offering an interesting new contribution on the localization of various finds.

The articles on the results of investigations and excavations along the Red Sea and Arabian coasts also offer interesting leads, stressing the important role these sites play in filling out the complex picture of trade between the Roman world and India. S.E. Sidebotham and L. Casson describe the efforts archaeologists have made to identify the ancient ports cited by classical authors. Great importance is attributed to the role of the 'intermediaries' — not only Egyptian and Arabian traders, but also Palmyrenes, Jews, Nabataeans and Sassanids.

All the articles are completed with impressive arrays of notes giving full bibliographic reference on the various subjects dealt with. The volume includes a general index plus an index of the places cited.

Rosa Maria Cimino

Patricia Eichenbaum Karetzky, *The Life of the Buddha: Ancient Scriptural and Pictorial Traditions*, University Press of America, Lanham-New York-London 1992, 2 (un-numbered)-xxxiv (unnumbered)-284 pp., 82 figs. in the text.

This book contains an amazing mixture of useful material, intelligent observations, gross inaccuracies, and much vague speculation. The cocktail is such that one is unable to tell which are the parts to be retained, which should be rejected.

The aim of the book is to provide a survey of the main episodes of the Buddha's life on the grounds of the literary narratives and their figural versions from both Gandhāra and India proper. The Introduction (pp. v-xxxiv) deals chiefly with the life in stone, the main text suggests useful comparisons by which parallelisms and divergencies are evidenced.

Some statements by the author do not appear to be immune from criticism. See, for example, what she writes concerning Gandharan art: 'Stylistic analysis of the Gandharan oeuvre is problematic. Although usually thought of and

labeled as a cohesive style, in close analysis it is a conglomeration of several regional schools largely divided into three entities: Gandhara proper (occupying the Punjab area), Mathura, and the Northwest territory (Pakistan and Afghanistan). [...] In Gandhara proper, Western influences were most strongly felt. [...] Some of the more prolific sites in Gandhara [...] are Jamal Garhi, Lorian Tangai, Sahri Bahlol, Sikri and Takht-i Bahai. [...] Outside of Gandhara, far south at Mathura, the Indian indigenous traditions maintained a strong continuity and Western influences are weak. [...] In the Northwest are several large, important Buddhist centers. Butkara, Swat was excavated in the 1960's and has yielded many hundreds of sculptures [...] (pp. xx-xxi). So it seems that Mathurā is part of Gandhāra (but a few lines below, p. xxi, under the heading 'Mathuran Art', the author goes further into details, and specifies that at Mathurā, 'For a period of time, a cosmetic layer of Gandharan style art overlays the manner of the bas reliefs of Bharhut and Sanchi', which is perhaps a too simplistic and somewhat culinary way of putting things), that Jamal Garhi, Lorian Tangai, etc., being in Gandhāra proper, are in the Panjab (and not in Pakistan?), and that the Northwest — though explicitly said to be one of the three entities constituting the Gandharan art area — included both Swat, with its 'hybrid style of Western, Mathuran, and local traits', and Hadda which, along several other sites in Afghanistan, is characterized by 'a regional variant of the classic Gandharan style' (p. xxi). I wonder what the author actually intended to suggest with these gloomy statements.

While briefly discussing the art of Mathurā, Dr Karetzky surprises us by saying that 'Near the later part of the [Kushan?] era, the art of the region appears to have adopted the Gandharan narrative style', though 'its [of Mathurā] few extant reliefs reflect an admixture of artistic currents' (p. xxi). This bold statement is illustrated, it seems, with fig. 7 (it is referred to as '8', but this is one of the innumerable misprints in this booklet), which is by no means a narrative relief in the Gandharan tradition. The statement that the importance of Mathurā was partially due to the fact that it was 'Situated on the main artery of the Ganges', sounds ambiguous

to say the least — what is 'the main artery' of a river? the main stream of a river system, I presume. The statement is therefore wrong because Mathurā was — and is — situated on a tributary of the Ganges (the Yamuna), not on the Ganges itself. Dr Karetzky presumably meant 'on the main *tributary* of the Ganges'.

The whole discussion of the various artistic 'schools' and their ways of dealing with the narration of the Buddha's life is rather confused, though several observations are interesting. What is surprising is the conclusion (p. xxvii), according to which 'In all these regional schools [i.e., Gandhāra, Mathurā, Amarāvati, Ajanṭā] similarities far outweigh the differences in pictorial representations of the life of the Buddha', and 'Despite the regional variations, the formulation of a heroic biography is evident in all of these locations' — really too poor and too hasty a conclusion especially if we recall the many contributions on the subject, some of them quite recent (e.g. the extremely important paper by Vidya Dehejia, 'On Modes of Visual Narration in Early Buddhist Art', *Art Bulletin*, 72, 1990, pp. 374-92, obviously unknown to Dr Karetzky).

Other inaccuracies crop up here and there and are probably mainly due to misprints (the titles of the French books and papers are often spoilt, sometimes even the authors' names are misspelt — 'Degens' instead of Dagens, 'Rosenfeld' instead of Rosenfield), though it is in any case disagreeable to find 'Khabul' instead of Kabul (twice, pp. xv, xxxi), 'Vinayana' instead of Vinaya (pp. 113, 227), or '*sanghiti*' instead of *sanghiti* (p. xvii). Nor is it to be passed over in silence that *Aśvaghosa's Buddhacarita* cannot be termed a *sūtra* (pp. 18, 29, 191), nor can the *Lalitavistara* (p. 28).

The bibliographical references in the notes and those listed at the end of the volume are too often wrong, e.g. the article by J. Irwin, 'The Stūpa and the Cosmic Axis', was published in *South Asian Archaeology 1977* (Naples 1979), not in 'South East Asian Archaeology, 1977' (p. 274), J. Rosenfield's *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans* was published in 1967, not 1969 (p. 278); the book referred to as 'Tucci, G., *Stupa*, Rome, 1932' (p. 280) simply does not exist; also the entry 'Faccenna, D., *Reports on the Campaigns of 1956-8 at Swat*, Rome, 1962, 3 vols.' (pp. xxxii, 272) is hopelessly wrong; etc.

What is worse is that many books and papers are unknown to the author which might have helped her in writing a more pondered work than the one we have now to review. I limit myself to suggesting that Dr Karetzky should take into account the recent papers dealing with her own subject, by V. Dehejia, D. Schlingloff, R. Parimoo, etc.; but also some older ones, such as the very important article by H. Zimmer, 'Some Aspects of Time in Indian Art', *JISOA*, I, 1933, pp. 30-51.

This is a book to be re-written. As it is, it can be useful to experienced scholars — it is too full of inaccuracies to be safely left in the hands of any beginner. It is also to be hoped that a revised and amended new edition is both more carefully edited and better printed — in addition to the truly incredible number of misprints, one must also point out that the pages of the Introduction, though indicated in the Index by means of Roman numerals, are not actually numbered, and this is perhaps why the printer did not realize that he was omitting p. xvii.

Maurizio Taddei

The Crossroads of Asia: Transformation in Image and Symbol in the Art of Ancient Afghanistan and Pakistan, edited by E. Errington and J. Cribb with M. Claringbull, The Ancient India and Iran Trust, Cambridge 1992, 306 pp., many b/w and colour illustrations in the text

This beautifully produced volume is the catalogue of an exhibition with the same title, held at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 6th October-13th December, 1992 and supported by the Ancient India and Iran Trust, an independent charity which well serves the diffusion of knowledge of Iranian and Indian civilizations in Britain and Europe. The initiative was made possible by the efforts of an Organizing and Editorial Committee, the members of which were four well-known scholars (Dr F. Raymond Allchin, Prof. Sir John Boardman, Mr Joe Cribb, and Dr James C. Harle) and a scholarly-minded collector and generous benefactor, Mr Neil Kreitman. Mr Kreitman has focused his interest chiefly on ancient metal sculptures and wares of Afghanistan and the North-West Frontier

Province of Pakistan. Many of the objects displayed are from his collection (Collection A.I.C.) and represent perhaps the most interesting part of the exhibition since most of them were unpublished.

The volume is the result of the work of nine contributors — F.R. Allchin, J. Boardman, O. Bopearachchi, M.A. Claringbull, J.E. Cribb, E.A. Errington, Ch. Fabrègues, J.C. Harle, and N. Kreitman — perhaps too many to achieve real homogeneity among the various contributions but certainly the right number to have the texts written by scholars competent in each particular subject.

The two chapters of the introductory part of the volume provide a clear and highly enjoyable summary of present-day knowledge of the history and art of those regions from the Achaemenid period to the eve of the Muslim conquest and their relations with the Hellenistic world, northern and peninsular India, and Central Asia. The present reviewer found the paragraphs (and the Catalogue notes) on coins particularly stimulating and up to date, but the others are also quite useful — only few minor points could give rise to some perplexity in the reader.

For instance, J. Boardman (p. 37a) places the inception of Gandharan art in the 1st century A.D., but he is contradicted by F.R. Allchin and Ch. Fabrègues who correctly refer (p. 48a) to the contributions of the late J.E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw (and Ch. Fabrègues herself) and date the earliest Gandharan production to a time span between the late 1st century B.C. and the beginning of the 1st century A.D.

It is also not so clear what Professor Boardman means when he says that 'by the time the Yuezhi had come under the leadership of the Kushans, it is hard to detect much of their nomad northern heritage except, as with the Parthians, in matters of dress' (p. 36a). We are accustomed to recognising the witness of a nomad heritage at least in the peculiar way in which the Kushan kings and even some gods are represented on coins as well as in the products of the so-called 'dynastic art' — and it is not only a matter of dress, it is a particular conception of the royal image and, at the same time, a particular perception of space and of the human figure inside it. Does Professor Boardman consider all this as something trivial enough to be easily overlooked?

On p. 37b J. Boardman writes that 'The first intimations of the application of western arts' to stories around the life of Siddhārtha 'came before the appearance of the figure of the Buddha, in reliefs such as nos. 130-2, soon to be followed by subjects which came to admit representation of the Buddha himself'. But how can we be sure that these reliefs with donors and offering-bearers (nos. 130-31: V&A I.S. 3-1971, BM OA 1900.4-14.13) and with putti bearing a garland (no. 132: BM OA 1940 7-13.1) were not part of decorative complexes in which the Buddha appeared in human form? Certainly we cannot, especially in the case of no. 132.

Under the heading 'Buddhist Art: Cult Symbols and Architecture' (p. 43b), J.C. Harle says that one of the Buddhist symbols 'was the pair of footprints (buddhapada), possibly of pre-Buddhist origin and later exclusively associated with Vishnu'. This seems to be a slip as *buddhapādas* are worshipped as the Buddha's footprints even in the present day (obviously, in Buddhist countries).

The Catalogue is divided into various sections, the first of which includes the coins, arranged according to the issuing authorities (no. 1-53) and the images of gods (nos. 54-94) — brief and pithy notes by J. Cribb and O. Bopearachchi make this section extremely useful.

Then follow the other artefacts — metal vessels (nos. 95-101), bronze figurines (nos. 102-14), bronze balsamaria (nos. 115-16), bronze reliefs (nos. 117-19), terracottas (nos. 120-21), classicising statuary (nos. 122-36), gold, silver and bronze ornaments (nos. 137-49), gemstones (nos. 150-52), palettes (nos. 153-58), glass (nos. 159-60), metalwork with royal and other imagery (nos. 161-68), *stūpas* and their relic deposits (nos. 169-96), Buddha images (nos. 197-216), Bodhisattva images (nos. 217-19), Hindu images (nos. 220-21).

Gandharan art is well represented in the various relevant sections. It is only regrettable that no reliefs of the proto-Gandharan period mainly from Swat (those dealt with by J.E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw in her paper in *South Asian Archaeology* 1979) have been included. The discussion on the inception of Gandharan art would have benefited from the presence of one or two of those pieces.

In this Exhibition we find many an old acquaintance but also several hitherto unfamiliar pieces, and the latter would be enough to make this volume a precious tool of research, thanks to the nice reproductions and the highly informative notes. The present reviewer will only point to some passages of the Catalogue which might provide the opportunity for discussion. By no means does he intend to hunt for oversights.

I am afraid the date assigned by J. Boardman to the well-known silver bowl (Catalogue no. 101) with a drinking scene from Buddhigharra, kept in the British Museum (2nd century A.D.), is untenable both because of the fluting and the style of the two figures. This points rather to a date some time in the 5th or even the 6th century A.D., as has been wisely suggested by Boris Mariak in a book (*Silberschätze des Orients. Metallkunst des 3.-13. Jahrhunderts und ihre Kontinuität*, Leipzig 1986, pp. 266-67, fig. 180) which surprisingly is not even listed in the General Bibliography. Boardman himself observes (pp. 97b-98a) that the wavy fluting in the West 'is popular on fairly late silver', but adds that 'the motif itself can be seen on sarcophagi from the first century A.D. onwards, where it is less obviously appropriate, and it must have been also in use on western silver at least as early'. The argument seems to me very weak and based on mere speculation, especially because the fluting on the Roman sarcophagi appears to me quite different — from the point of view of composition — from the beaming fluting on late silver vases. A late date had already been proposed by M.L. Carter in a paper cited by Boardman himself; though other scholars prefer to place the Buddhigharra bowl in the Sasanian period but not later than the 3rd-4th century (e.g. T. Talbot Rice, *Ancient Arts of Central Asia*, London 1965, fig. 128; J. Rawson, 'Central Asian Silver and Its Influence on Chinese Ceramics', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, n.s., 5, 1991, p. 146, fig. 9), I feel that Mariak's guess is much more convincing.

Apropos the tiny 'statuette of a goddess' no. 111 (Collection A.I.C.), holding a cornucopia in the shape of a *rhytôn*, Professor Boardman very aptly observes that 'In the East the cornucopia is often lengthened in this way, abandoning its origin as a goat's horn', though I would not take it for granted that a goat's horn is 'an unclean

object' for any easterner (this opinion is expressed by the same contributor also on p. 134b) — what is 'unclean' in everyday life can be sacred in a religious context, as many *matrkās* clearly prove. Boardman suggests that the goddess 'might be identified as Hariti, if anyone', which is also possible, though we know that if any name is to be assigned to the goddess with a cornucopia this is most probably Ardokhasho (see the coin section in this Catalogue, nos. 83-84 and *passim*; also no. 146) or Śrī, as it appears from an inscription published by G. Fussman a few years ago ('Une statuette gandharienne de la déesse Śrī', *AION*, 48, 1988, pp. 1-9).

The black-chlorite relief no. 122 (Collection A.I.C.) presumably represents a maenad. J. Boardman is right in observing that 'The subject is Greek, though not the workmanship' and that a maenad 'is not a familiar figure as an offerant'. Nevertheless one should bear in mind that maenads by an altar (though not actually in the act of offering) are rather frequent in Roman sarcophagi of Dionysian subjects (F. Matz, *Die dionysischen Sarkophage*, I, Berlin 1968, type TH51): a very well-known one from the Quirinale, Rome depicts a maenad in the act of lighting a torch at a fire burning on an altar (Matz, *op. cit.*, II, Berlin 1968, no. 138). It is certainly more interesting to observe that female members of a Dionysian *thiasos* (presumably maenads) are represented as offerants in two *rhytā* from Nisa (M.E. Masson & G.A. Pugačenkova, *Parfjanskije ritony Nisy*, Moskva 1956 (plates) & Ašhabad 1959 (text), no. 31, pl. LXXIIIb; no. 43, pl. LXIVb; English transl., *The Partian Rhytons of Nisa*, Firenze 1982, pls. 82.3 and 71.2 respectively).

I wonder whether any of the putti in the Gandharan relief no. 132 (British Museum, OA 1940.7-13.1) are actually moustached, as J. Boardman says. I suspect it is a wrong impression due to some damage or chipping of the stone.

No. 134 is the very well-known Gandharan relief fragment in the British Museum (OA 1970.7-18.1) with Vajrapāṇi-Heracles. Boardman opportunely points out that both the main figure and the monk in the background perform the gesture of raising middle and index fingers, which he thinks is a variation of the gestures in nos. 143 and 144. This is not the case as the female figures

in these latter pieces hold the stem of a flower and, at least in no. 143, only the little finger is raised. Rather, one should remember that this gesture has been discussed in recent years by H.-P. Francfort (*Les palettes du Gandhāra*, Paris 1979, p. 30), G. De Marco (*I 'Kusāṇa' nella vita del Buddha*, Suppl. *AION* 34, Napoli 1983, p. 56, fn. 198) and A. Santoro ('Note di iconografia gandharica, I', *AION*, 46, 1986, pp. 41-46), and is now the subject of a paper by Martha L. Carter ('A Gandhāran Blessing', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, n.s., 1, 1987, pp. 45-63). Both De Marco and Carter reproduce the relief exhibited here. After the publication of the Catalogue the same relief has been also reproduced and discussed by A. Santoro ('Note di iconografia gandharica, V. Appunti sul Vajrapāṇi-Eracle', *RSO*, LXV, 1991 (1992), p. 273, fig. 2).

No. 158 is a 'toilet-tray' made of carbonaceous gypsum, from the Collection A.I.C. J. Boardman ascribes it to the 1st century A.D., quite a reasonable guess. There are some features in this tray that are somewhat disconcerting — costumes and other details are very awkwardly designed; the cloth covering the stool on which the central character is seated is abruptly and unconvincingly cut at the bottom along a horizontal line; the central figure is seated cross-legged but his feet do not rest on any supporting device (such as a foot-stool); they just hang in the air in such a way that the posture must have been a real torture instead of being an attitude of royal ease, which would be much more appropriate to the subject; moreover, the lotus flower carved in the background is strongly out of centre, whereas in most of the 'toilet-trays' the centre of the lotus approximately coincides with that of the tray. All these shortcomings are certainly not enough to justify rejecting the palette as a forgery, as several 'toilet-trays', even from safe archaeological contexts, contain the same type of inaccuracy and inconsistency: nevertheless I would hesitate to include it directly among the genuine pieces.

The bronze vase no. 163, from Gondla, H.P., now kept in the British Museum, was first published by C. Horne in the *JRAS* of 1871, then included by G.C.M. Birdwood in his handbook, *The Industrial Arts of India*, London 1880, pp. 154-55, pl. 12, and only recently brought again to the readers' attention by B. Rowland in the

1977 edition of *The Art and Architecture of India*. It was very good to include it in the Exhibition because it still remains an unjustly neglected masterpiece. E. Errington describes it carefully and proposes a date in the 1st century B.C. I would definitely prefer to date it in the 2nd century B.C., given the numerous striking resemblances with the Indian encrusted plaque from Ai Khānom, safely dated to the 2nd century. For this plaque, the Gomla vase, and other cognate objects, one is now to be referred to C. Rapin, *La trésorerie du palais hellénistique d'Ai Khānom*, MDAFA, XXXIII, Paris 1992, pp. 185-232.

Metal objects, as is known, are the easiest to counterfeit, and forged metal figurines sometimes found shelter in important museums even in the good old days. This is the case, for instance, of the two bronzes (now withdrawn from their showcases) in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay (S.N. Chakravarti, *A Guide to the Antiquities of the Historic Period*, Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay, 1958, pl. XIXa, b). Neil Kreitman appears to have been extremely cautious in buying metal artefacts, and some of them are really interesting and thought-provoking: it is only discouraging that all these new additions to the corpus available for research are stray pieces, the provenance of which is often only a matter of guesswork.

The silver repoussé figurine no. 168 is attributed by Kreitman himself to 1st-2nd century A.D. — quite a reasonable guess. The treatment of the mantle to me is reminiscent of the 'Bactrian' silver disk in the Hermitage, first published by K. Trever, *Pamjatniki greko-baktrijskogo iskusstva*, Moskva-Leningrad 1940, pp. 64-67 (and discussed afresh by Marco Bussagli, 'Il disco "battriano" del Museo dell'Ermitage: Su un'analogia iconografica con talune figure angeliche posteriori al V secolo', *RSO*, LX, 1986 (1988), pp. 13-44) — a comparison that is not of much use for safer dating since the Hermitage disk can be a much later piece than it is usually believed.

Descriptive note no. 203 (an Indo-Corinthian capital in the British Museum, OA 1880-357), by J. Boardman and E. Errington, should be revised in the light of an article by D. Faccenna, 'Lo stūpa a colonne dell'area sacra buddhistica di Saïdu

Sharif I (Swāt, Pakistan)', in G. Brucher & alii, eds., *Orient und Okzident im Spiegel der Kunst. Festschrift Heinrich Gerhard Franz zum 70. Geburtstag*, Graz 1986, pp. 55-80.

No. 221, the 'masque Court' of the Bibliothèque Nationale (6th-7th century), was a very pleasant surprise to visitors of the Exhibition who had read the very recent paper by Gérard Fussman ('Le "masque Court": une effigie en laiton de Śiva au Gandhara', *JA*, CCLXXIX, 1991, pp. 137-74) — the direct sight of it only allows us to appreciate its great quality to which no photographs are able to do justice. Dr Errington reasonably believes, on the grounds of several details, the most significant of which is the absence of a third eye on the forehead, that the 'masque Court' is a 'more syncretic image' than one of Lord Śiva, 'made at a time when the religious dominance of Buddhism in the region was being overtaken, but was not yet totally replaced by Hinduism'.

As for the stylistic comparisons with other products of metal statuary from the area, Dr Errington is quite right in recalling such pieces as the small Maitreya in Los Angeles (P. Pal, *Indian Sculpture: A Catalogue of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art Collection*, vol. I, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1986, no. S99), nevertheless I would point out that a much closer connection can be seen with the famous Brahmā in the National Museum, Karachi (J.E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, 'The Pre-Muslim Antiquities of Sind', *South Asian Archaeology 1975*, Leiden 1979, pp. 169-70, pl. 87). It is a pity that E. Errington in her description of the piece does not say that the negative of a Gandharan head is visible on the back — a very interesting peculiarity rightly emphasized by Fussman.

An Appendix (pp. 241-87) contains the results of technical analysis. It is due to D.J. Donahue, C.L. Reedy, and M.T. Wypyski — a very precious addition to the Catalogue that scholars will certainly welcome warmly.

Maurizio Taddei

Shankar Goyal, *History and Historiography of the Age of Harsha*. With a Foreword by K.D.

Bajpai, Kusumanjali Prakashan, Jodhpur 1992, xxii-343 pp.

The author of this useful volume makes explicit acknowledgement of his debt both to the theoretical writings and the specific contributions of his master, S.R. Goyal. Moreover, we should remember that a number of these contributions were in fact on the Harsha period (I had occasion to present *Harsha and Buddhism*, Meerut 1986, in *EW*, 36, 1986, pp. 307-8).

In contrast with an old-fashioned historiographical tradition based on the assumption that the literary texts were 'innocent', Shankar Goyal adopts a more critical approach — precisely the approach we find in S.R. Goyal's 'new political history' — which is no great novelty after all.

The merit of this essay lies in the fact that the author takes us through the old historiographical tradition, pointing out the limitations and ideological conditioning of each author he comes to, before dealing with the sources of Harsha.

In particular Dr Goyal focuses on a number of crucial points including the date of the *Harshacarita* by Bāṇa (which he places in c. A.D. 620 on the basis of both internal evidence and the testimony of Hsüan-tsang), the historical importance of the plays attributed to Harsha (*Ratnavali*, *Priyadarśikā* and *Nāgānanda*), the true paternity of which has given rise to a great deal of doubt, the assassination of Rājyavardhana II and the suspected involvement of his brother, Harsha, and the extent of the latter's dominions and their solidity. Some observations by the author on the lack of real forcefulness in the sovereign's political action, are also worthy of note.

This book combines the virtues of clear, convincing exposition with a wealth of stimulating observations scattered throughout on matters that may be marginal but are nevertheless extremely interesting. For example, the author's appraisal of the reliability of Hsüan-tsang — at least as far as the information on religious matters is concerned — is decidedly wary if not downright negative, and it would be well to bear his arguments in mind on other occasions (the Chinese pilgrim's tendency to enlarge exceedingly upon his own role is also brought out well); and his reflections on Bāṇa's criticism of the use of

seti and of the divine nature of the kings are worthy of the closest consideration, though it is surprising that the Indian 'theory of the divinity of kings' is discussed without even a passing reference to such fundamental contributions as J. Gonda's *Ancient Indian Kingship from the Religious Point of View* (Leiden 1969), etc

Generally speaking, Goyal's appraisal of Harsha's reign is balanced and convincing. A sovereign who had perhaps until not so long ago been overrated on account of the many surviving sources favourable to him is here cut down to more modest proportions and takes on what is perhaps his rightful place in the historical context. The bibliography used is extensive and usually up-to-date.

Maurizio Taddei

P.H. Joshi & S.Y. Wakankar, eds., *Cetovinodanākāvyam of Dāji Jyotirvid* (The M.S. University Oriental Series, No. 16), Oriental Institute, M.S. University of Baroda, Vadodara 1991, iv unnumb.-ii-23-108 pp. (Repr. from the *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, 36, 1-4 – 39, 1-2).

Cetovinodanākāvyam of Dāji Jyotirvid (A.D. 1800-1865) is a Sanskrit text devoted to descriptions of the travels of the author who undertook a journey from Kolhāpura (Maharashtra) to Vārāṇasī. The text also includes descriptions of places of pilgrimage such as Gayā, Prayāga, Citrakūṭa, etc.

Tīrtayātrā (pilgrimage) has been glorified in all the classical cultures. In the fourth volume of the *History of Dharmasāstra*, P.V. Kane has studied in detail the importance of the *tīrtayātrā* and its various ramifications in Indian culture. The *Mahābhārata* and many *Purāṇas* have given accounts of the places of pilgrimage. *Dharmasāstras* also describe the merits of pilgrimage. The *Tīrtakalpataru* (c. A.D. 1110-1120) devotes more than half the work to Vārāṇasī and Prayāga alone.

In modern times, when transport and means of communication have so much improved, these old holy places are attracting many more people, not strictly for religious purposes but for tourism and entertainment too. A detailed study has been made by S.M. Bhardwaj in his book *Hindu*

Places of Pilgrimage in India (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1973). Unlike the earlier studies which discuss individual sacred places in descriptive terms or from a historical, anthropological or religious standpoint, Bhardwaj's book examines both the historical and contemporary patterns of pilgrimage at various levels — pan-Hindu, supra-regional, sub-regional, and local. Bhardwaj also, on the basis of his fieldwork, points out that secularization is a new developing trend as far as pilgrimage is concerned.

But the present volume *Cetovinodanākāvyam* (a poem for the delights of entertainment of the mind) is a textual study and a critical edition based on two manuscripts, one found in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta and the other in the Oriental Institute, Baroda. The main body of the text consists of 813 verses in which early *ślokas* (verses) are devoted to gods Gaṇeśā, Śiva, Viṣṇu, Sūrya, etc. Later verses describe Kāśī, Prayāga, Gayā, etc. where the poet travelled. The Kṛṣṇā, Godāvarī, Gaṅgā and Yamunā rivers along with some mountains such as the Vindhya ranges which were visited by the poet on his way to the pilgrimage, have also been depicted.

During his journey the poet comes across pilgrims playing cards (*patrakṛīḍā*) or chess (*buddhibala*) and gambling (*dyutakṛīḍā*) when they are tired

The editors have given a short introduction describing the author and his ancestry. He belonged to the court of the Sahājī, the great-grandson of Śivājī, who ruled Kolhāpura in A.D. 1822.

It appears from the text that the author was not such a superb poet, however his descriptions of rivers, mountains, etc. are sometimes elegant. Naturally it is not a very fluent and pleasing Sanskrit, however its contents are of importance to those who are interested in the pilgrimage and the author who started his journey from the distant land of Kolhāpura in Maharashtra and wandered about as pilgrim in the most important places of the North.

Sbyam Manohar Pandey

Roxina Visram, *Women in India and Pakistan: the Struggle for Independence from British Rule*,

interesting. Cahill's aesthetics and methodology, which derive from the equivocal types of formalism practiced during the fifties and sixties by the defenders of the modernist tradition, do not wear well today. His arguments despite their elegance are essentially circular demonstrations explaining why he likes or dislikes a particular painting. They strike the reader as loosely defined observations whose critical terms can be, at any point, reversed. Remaining at a discrete distance Cahill seldom ventures into the minute details of history and practice. Though Wen Fong is more adventurous, often his loose synthesis of ideas is confusing and the thoughts are contradictory: viz — the false opposition of reality and art and the uncritical analogies between painting and calligraphy (one of the common fallacies of traditional Chinese aesthetics). In addition, his translation of *dacheng* (vol. I, p. 52) as 'the great synthesis' seems fanciful. Within the different contexts cited the idea appears to be '*chef-d'oeuvre*'. I think, however, Fong's assertion that '[...] fourteenth-century Yuan literati painters created a startling prefiguration of Western modernism' (vol. I, p. 49) is fundamentally true. However, the terms of the comparison need to be articulated more carefully.

It was a pleasure to finally come across Ms Riely's fact filled and minutely focused discourse on Dong's life. For the first time I had the sense of looking at a complex and problematic world which provokes real questions and thought. Ms Riely is demanding and not always right but she has put her finger on the solid matter out of which art and history are made. I would recommend that the reader after reading Ho's and Delbanco's introductory article go straight to Riely's biography. The other discussions will be more meaningful once he or she has scanned some of the fascinating facts of Dong's life.

Peter B. Way



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